

THE NEGRO'S PROGRESS IN FIFTY YEARS

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CONTENTS

PART I—STATISTICAL

NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.....	1
Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D., Specialist Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.	

PART II—BUSINESS ACTIVITIES AND LABOR CONDITIONS

PROFESSIONAL AND SKILLED OCCUPATIONS.....	10
Kelly Miller, LL.D., Dean, Howard University, Washington, D. C.	
THE NEGRO IN UNSKILLED LABOR.....	19
R. R. Wright, Jr., Ph.D., Editor, <i>The Christian Recorder</i> , Philadelphia	
DEVELOPMENT IN THE TIDEWATER COUNTIES OF VIRGINIA	28
T. C. Walker, Gloucester Courthouse, Va.	
THE NEGRO AND THE IMMIGRANT IN THE TWO AMERICAS..	32
James B. Clarke, New York	
THE TENANT SYSTEM AND SOME CHANGES SINCE EMANCIPATION.....	38
Thomas J. Edwards, Supervisor of Colored Public Schools of Tallapoosa County, Dadeville, Ala.	

PART III—SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES ON THE RACE QUESTION	47
Charles Hillman Brough, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology, University of Arkansas; Chairman, Commission of Southern Universities on the Race Question	
FIFTY YEARS OF FREEDOM: CONDITIONS IN THE SEACOAST REGIONS.....	58
Niels Christensen, Editor and Proprietor, <i>The Beaufort Gazette</i> , Beaufort, S. C.	

X THE WHITE MAN'S DEBT TO THE NEGRO.....	67
L. H. Hammond, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.	
NEGRO CRIMINALITY IN THE SOUTH.....	74
Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama	
THE MOVEMENT FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE NEGRO IN PHILADELPHIA.....	81
John T. Emlen, Secretary and Treasurer of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia	
X PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP.....	93
Ray Stannard Baker, Amherst, Mass.	
CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN THE CITIES.....	105
George Edmund Haynes, Ph.D., Director, National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes; Professor of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	
CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.....	120
J. J. Watson, Ph.D., Macon, Ga.	
NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS.....	129
B. F. Lee, Jr., Field Secretary, Armstrong Association of Philadelphia	
FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO PUBLIC HEALTH.....	138
S. B. Jones, M.D., Resident Physician, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Greensboro, N. C.	
NEGRO HOME LIFE AND STANDARDS OF LIVING.....	147
Robert E. Park, Wollaston, Mass.	
X RACE RELATIONSHIP IN THE SOUTH.....	164
W. D. Weatherford, Ph.D., Nashville, Tenn.	
THE WORK OF THE JEANES AND SLATER FUNDS.....	173
B. C. Caldwell, The John F. Slater Fund, New York	
 <i>PART IV—EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AND NEED</i>	
NEGRO ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES.....	177
J. P. Lichtenberger, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania	
NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA	186
Howard W. Odum, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.	

CONTENTS

v

HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES..	209
Edward T. Ware, A.B., President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	
INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.....	219
Booker T. Washington, LL.D., Principal, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	
THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE AND ART.....	233
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph.D., Editor, <i>The Crisis</i> , New York	
BOOK DEPARTMENT.....	239
INDEX.....	261

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

ANDERSON—*The Farmer of Tomorrow* (p. 239); ANDREWS—*The Colonial Period* (p. 239); BAGOT—*Italians of Today* (p. 240); BARROWS—*A Sunny Life: The Biography of Samuel J. Barrows* (p. 240); BOGART—*Financial History of Ohio* (p. 241); BOWSFIELD—*Making the Farm Pay* (p. 241); BRAWLEY—*A Short History of the American Negro* (p. 241); BROOKS—*American Syndicalism* (p. 242); *Common School and the Negro American, The* (p. 242); DEVEREAUX—*Aspects of Algeria* (p. 242); GRIFFITH—*The Dominion of Canada* (p. 243); HENDERSON—*The Fitness of the Environment* (p. 244); HIGGINSON—*Tariffs at Work* (p. 244); HOWERTH—*Work and Life* (p. 245); McVEY—*The Making of a Town* (p. 245); MURDOCH—*Economics as the Basis of Living Ethics* (p. 245); MYERS—*History as Past Ethics* (p. 246); PARSONS—*The Old-Fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies about the Sex* (p. 246); PEABODY—*Merchant Venturers of Old Salem* (p. 246); PENSON—*The Economics of Everyday Life* (p. 247); RAY—*An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics* (p. 247); ROBBINS—*Selected Articles on the Commission Plan of Municipal Government* (p. 247); SABY—*Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875* (p. 248); UNDERWOOD—*United Italy* (p. 248); USHER—*Pan Germanism* (p. 248); WALTER—*Genetics: An Introduction to the Study of Heredity* (p. 249); WEATHERFORD—*Negro Life in the South, and Present Forces in Negro Progress* (p. 250); WEBB—*The Economics of Railroad Construction* (p. 250).

REVIEWS

BEARD—*An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (p. 250).....C. L. King
 HUBBARD—*The Fate of the Empires* (p. 251).....J. P. Lichtenberger
 KNOOP—*Principles and Methods of Municipal Trading* (p. 252)....C. L. King
 LAWTON—*The Empires of the Far East, 2 vols.* (p. 253).....C. L. Jones
 MOORE—*An Industrial History of the American People* (p. 254) ..E. L. Bogart
 MYERS—*History of the Supreme Court of the United States* (p. 255) ..C. L. King
 WALLACE—*Social Environment and Moral Progress* (p. 255).....C. Kelsey
 WHITE—*The First Hague Conference; Choate—The Two Hague Conferences; Hull—The New Peace Movement* (p. 256)A. S. Hershey
 WILSON—*The New Freedom* (p. 257).....B. M. Anderson, Jr.
 WISE—*The Commonwealth of Australia* (p. 259).....C. L. Jones

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THE PAPERS IN THIS PUBLICATION WERE

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR

NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

BY THOMAS JESSE JONES, PH.D.,

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Will the ten million Negroes now in the United States continue to increase at the 100 per cent rate of the last 50 years? How long will they remain 75 per cent rural? Is the cityward tide affecting them equally with the white population? To what extent are they leaving the South and moving into the North? A moment's reflection will show that these are among the most vital questions confronting the serious minded people of our land.

Increase of Negro Population

According to the United States Census Bureau the increase of the Negro population was 120 per cent in the 50 years between 1860 and 1910. This population in 1860 was four and a half million (4,441,830). In 1910 the number had increased to practically ten million (9,827,763). It is interesting to note by way of comparison that the foreign-born population of the country was about two million in 1860 and thirteen and a third million in 1910. These two groups form a total of about 23 million people, or a fourth of our total population. In view of the many serious problems of social adjustment presented by each of these groups, it is quite significant that they should form such a large proportion of our population.

Much interest has been aroused by the fact that the 1910 census showed an increase for the Negro population of only 11.2 per cent as against 18 per cent for 1900. This fact has strengthened the belief of those who have been giving periodic expression to their claim that the Negro is "dying out." Even a casual study of the question, however, shows that such a conclusion is not well founded. In the first place, an increase of 11.2 per cent is about equal to the natural increase of any of the European people. The 1911 census of the English people, for example, reported an increase by excess of births over deaths of 12.4 per cent. This rate for 1910 was only 11.6 per cent. In the second place, the abrupt drop from 18 per cent of the

Negro population in 1900 to 11.2 per cent in 1910 is explained by errors in the censuses prior to 1900 and not by any abnormal changes in the Negro people. An examination of the following rates of increase since 1860 throws much light on this subject:

Decade	Increase	Per cent of increase
1900-1910.....	993,769	11.2
1890-1900.....	1,345,318	18.0
1880-1890.....	907,883	13.8
1870-1880.....	1,700,784	34.9
1860-1870.....	438,179	9.9

The well known errors of the 1870 enumeration of the South explain the abnormal increase reported for that decade. The sudden increase from 13.8 per cent in 1890 to 18 per cent in 1900 and the drop in the rate of increase to 11.2 in 1910 clearly indicate errors in some of these percentages. The explanation of these irregularities now given by those familiar with these three censuses is that the census of 1890 was an undercount, thus causing the census of 1900 to include not only the regular increase of the decade 1890 to 1900 but also the number of those not counted in 1890. The percentages of increase readjusted to eliminate the errors would be:

Decade	Per cent of increase
1900-1910.....	11.2
1890-1900.....	14.0
1880-1890.....	18.0
1870-1880.....	22.0
1860-1870.....	21.3

According to this series there has been a gradual decrease in the rate of increase for the Negroes of the United States so that the increase in 1910 was about one million persons in ten years, or 11.2 per cent. A comparison of this descending series with that of any normal European people increasing only by the excess of births over deaths makes it quite clear that a decreasing rate of increase ending in a rate of about 11 or 12 per cent is quite normal. While the returns of the 1910 census are a fairly accurate measure of the increase of the Negro people in the United States and undoubtedly nearer

to the truth than the returns of any previous census, there is little doubt that the omissions in the case of the Negro population were greater than in the case of the whites. The most definite evidence of these omissions is the apparent undercount of Negro children under 5 years of age. A study of the following figures from the 1910 census shows the probability of such omissions:

Age period	Native white of native parentage	Negro
Under 5 years of age		
Number.....	6,546,282	1,263,288
Per cent.....	13.2	12.9
5 to 9 years of age		
Number.....	5,861,015	1,246,553
Per cent.....	11.8	12.7

The numerical relation of these two age groups under normal conditions is seen in the figures for the whites. It is to be expected that the second group will be less than the first because of the deaths that have occurred during the first period. In the case of the native white of native parents the difference is 1.4 per cent whereas in the Negro groups the difference is only 0.2 per cent. There are three possible causes for this condition, namely, a high infant mortality, a sudden decrease in the birth-rate, and omissions of children by the census. The probability is that the three causes operated more strongly in the case of the Negro children than in that of the white, but the major causes of the abnormal relation of the age groups of the Negro children are undoubtedly the high rate of infant mortality and the failure of the enumerators to count Negro children.

Distribution and Proportion

While the rate of increase of the Negro population is about equal to that of the average European nation, the proportion which they form of the total population of the United States is steadily decreasing. In 1860 the Negro population was 14.1 per cent of the total population. By 1910 this proportion had decreased to 10.7 per cent. Not only is this true of the total population but it applies also to almost all of the Southern States. Only in the Northern States does the Negro population fail to show a decrease in the proportion which

they form of the total population, this proportion being 1.8 for both 1900 and 1910.

Proportion North and South. In view of the increasing discussion of the northward movement of the Negroes, it is important to note the census returns on this subject. The following table compares the proportion of all Negroes living in the North with that in the South in 1910 and in 1900:

	South	North
1910		
Number.....	8,749,427	1,078,336
Per cent.....	89.0	11.0
1900		
Number.....	7,922,969	911,025
Per cent.....	89.7	10.3

These figures seem to indicate that the Negroes are maintaining their proportion both in the North and in the South. The change toward the northern and western sections is less than one per cent of the total Negro population. The increase of Negroes in the Northern states was 167,311 persons, or about 18 per cent between 1900 and 1910. In the decade ending in 1900 the increase was 182,926, or about 25 per cent. It would appear from these figures, then, that the northward movement of the Negroes was really less in the last decade than in the one preceding.

Interesting information on the movement away from the South during the last 20 or 30 years is given in the census returns on the state of birth of the persons enumerated. According to the census of 1910 there were in the North and West 440,534 Negroes born in the South. Negroes born in the North and West now living in the South were 41,489. The net loss of Negroes of the South to the North and West was, therefore, 399,045. By the same process Southern whites show a net loss of only 46,839.

States and Counties. The increase of the Negro population for the last decade is well distributed over the states. The largest gains among the Northern States were those for New York with 35,000 or 35 per cent, Pennsylvania with 37,000 or 23 per cent, and Illinois with 24,000 or 28 per cent. The Negro population of California made the largest gain adding 11,000 people, or 96 per cent in the

decade ending in 1910. The smallest increase, only 2 per cent, is reported for the seven states immediately west of the Mississippi from Minnesota to Kansas.

Closely related to the northward trend discussed above is the rearrangement of the population by states and counties. Among the most striking facts shown by the last two censuses are the decreases and the small increases of the Negro population in the border states. Of the six states in which the Negro population decreased during the last ten years, four of them—Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri—are border states. The increases for Virginia and Delaware were so small that they can be classed with the retarded group. A comparison of the movement of the white and Negro population in counties of the border states brings out some striking contrasts. In the 98 counties of Virginia, for example, the whites gained in 84, while the Negroes lost in 68. Similar contrasts appear in the figures for each of the border states. It is quite clear, then, that the movements of the whites and Negroes of the border states are quite different. The probability is that the Negroes of these states are attracted to the cities of neighboring Northern States by what appears to them superior economic and educational opportunities in these states.

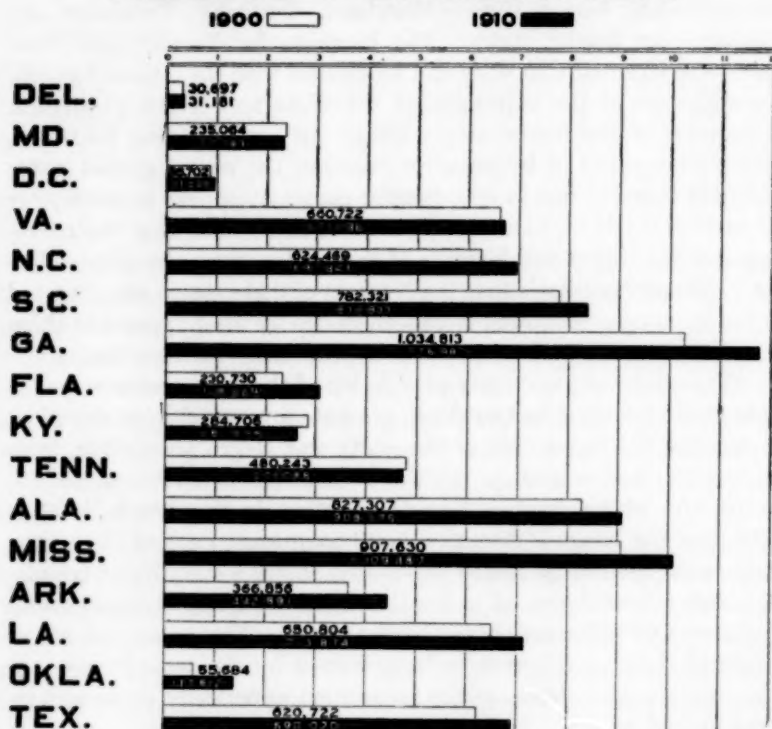
The study of the county population of the more southern South, from South Carolina to Louisiana, presents a very different situation, as regards the movement of the white and Negro population, from that of the border states. In the 67 counties of Alabama, for example, the whites increased in 51 counties, in the decade 1900 to 1910, and the Negroes increased in 43 counties. Each of the cotton states with their large Negro population shows a stability of population and a prevalence of gains that contrast quite strikingly with the losses and differences of the border states. The population movements of these states seem to be governed by the same forces. At any rate, the two classes of the population apparently move and increase together.

The two charts which follow help to explain some of the points already made and present a number of other interesting facts as to the distribution of Negro population. The primary purpose of the chart entitled "Total Negro Population" is to facilitate the comparison of the Negro population of Southern States in 1900 and in 1910.

One glance at the chart will show that Delaware has the shortest lines, indicating a Negro population of 30,697 in 1900 and 31,181 in

1910, while Georgia has the longest lines with a population of 1,034,813 in 1900 and 1,176,987 in 1910. The "big four" of the Southern States are evidently Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, in the order named. The second point shown on this chart is the change which has taken place in the number of Negroes since 1900. The

TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION



most striking fact disclosed is the substantial increases of the more Southern States and the decreases or small increases of the border states. The three states decreasing in Negro population are as follows: Maryland, 1.2 per cent; Tennessee, 1.5 per cent; and Kentucky, 8.1 per cent. The probable explanation of these decreases has been given above. The percentages of increase in the remaining states

shown on the chart are as follows: Delaware, 1.6; District of Columbia, 8.9; Virginia, 1.6; West Virginia, 47.5; North Carolina, 11.7; South Carolina, 6.8; Georgia, 13.7; Florida, 33.8; Alabama, 9.8; Mississippi, 11.2; Arkansas, 20.7; Louisiana, 9.7; Oklahoma, 147.1; Texas, 11.2. While the absolute Negro population has increased in all but three of the Southern States, the proportion which they form of the total population has decreased in practically every Southern State. In 1900 the Negroes were 32.3 per cent of the total population of the South. By 1910 this percentage had decreased to 29.8 per cent. Over 50 per cent of the population of Mississippi and South Carolina are Negroes. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana are over 40 per cent, and Virginia and North Carolina are over 30 per cent Negro. These percentages are shown on the following chart for all of the Southern States.

Urban and Rural. In the South the movement of the Negroes into the cities is about the same as that for the white population. The following percentages of urban population show how parallel the movement is for both races in the nine Southern States which the figures represent:

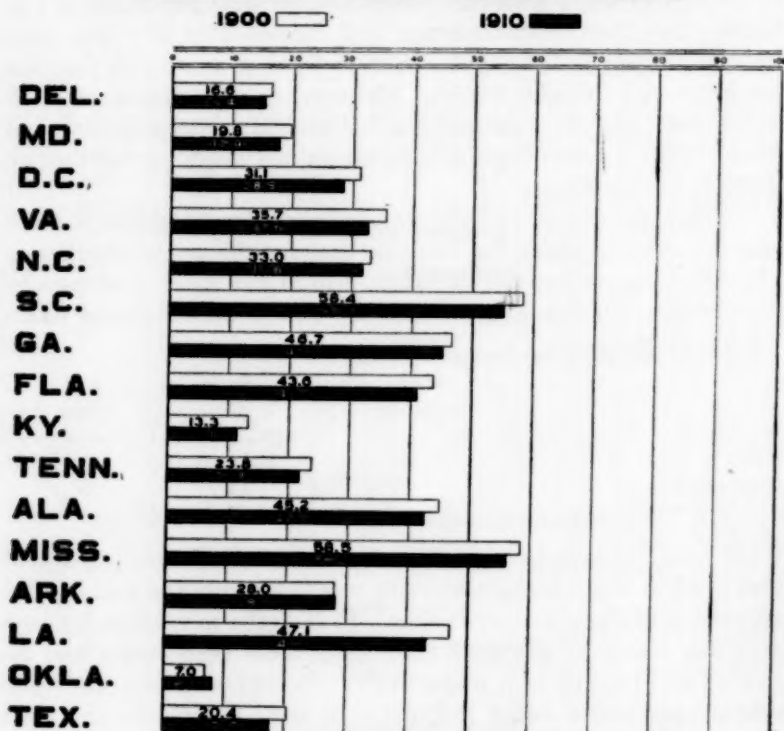
	1910	1900	1890
White.....	18.9	14.0	11.6
Negro.....	17.7	14.7	11.8

Up to the last decade the proportion of the Negro population that lived in the cities of the South was practically the same as the proportion of the white population. In 1890 the proportion for each race was about 12 per cent. By 1900 these percentages had increased to 14.0 and 14.7, respectively. In the last decade the white people have sent a larger proportion of their number to the cities than the Negroes. These facts are in agreement with the statements made above concerning the southern South.

Another fact, easily confused with the statement just made and not often realized, is the statement in a recent publication of the census bureau to the effect that the Negroes form about the same proportion of the urban population of the South as they do of the rural population. In the three Southern groups of states the Negro formed 29.4, 32.3 and 22.3 per cent of the urban population and 35.2,

31.4 and 22.7 per cent of the rural population. It would appear from these figures that in numerical strength the Negro is as important a factor of the urban population of the South as he is of the rural districts of that section.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION



In the North, the urban and rural distribution of the Negroes reverses the proportion of the South. In New England, for example, 91.8 per cent of the Negroes lived in urban communities; in the middle Atlantic States 81.2; and in the East North Central States including Illinois and its neighboring states the urban proportion was 76.6. All of these figures support the conclusion of the census bureau that

the Negroes who have migrated from the South have to a large extent gone to the cities.

The following table is a statement of some important facts concerning all the cities which contained at least 10,000 in 1910.

	NEGRO POPULATION		Percent of increase 1900-1910	Proportion Negro in total population
	1910	1900		
Washington, D. C.....	94,446	86,702	8.9	28.5
New York, N. Y.....	91,709	60,666	51.2	1.9
New Orleans, La.....	89,262	77,714	14.9	26.3
Baltimore, Md.....	84,749	79,258	6.9	15.2
Philadelphia, Pa.....	84,459	62,613	34.9	5.5
Memphis, Tenn.....	54,441	49,910	5.1	40.0
Birmingham, Ala.....	52,305	16,575	215.6	39.4
Atlanta, Ga.....	51,902	35,727	45.3	33.5
Richmond, Va.....	46,733*	32,230	31.4	36.6
St. Louis, Mo.....	43,960	35,516	23.8	6.4
Chicago, Ill.....	44,103	30,150	36.3	2.0
Louisville, Ky.....	40,522	39,139	3.5	18.1
Nashville, Tenn.....	36,523	30,044	21.6	33.1
Savannah, Ga.....	33,246	28,090	18.3	51.1
Charleston, S. C.....	31,056†	31,569	1.5†	52.8
Jacksonville, Fla.....	29,293	16,236	81.0	50.8
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25,623	17,040	25.9	4.8
Norfolk, Va.....	25,039	20,230	23.7	37.1
Houston, Texas.....	23,929	14,608	63.1	30.4
Kansas City, Mo.....	23,566	17,567	24.1	9.5
Mobile, Ala.....	22,763	17,045	33.4	44.2
Indianapolis, Ind.....	21,816	15,931	36.9	9.3
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	19,639	14,482	35.6	5.4
Montgomery, Ala.....	19,322	17,229	12.1	50.7
Augusta, Ga.....	18,344†	18,487	0.7†	44.7
Macon, Ga.....	18,150	11,550	57.1	44.6
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	17,942	13,122	36.8	40.2
Little Rock, Ark.....	14,539†	14,694	1.0†	31.6
Boston, Mass.....	13,564	11,591	17.0	2.0
Wilmington, N. C.....	12,107	10,407	16.3
Petersburg, Va.....	11,014	10,751	2.4
Lexington, Ky.....	11,011	10,130	8.7

* Includes population of Manchester.

† Decrease.

PROFESSIONAL AND SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

BY KELLY MILLER, LL.D.,

Dean, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

The world's workers may be divided into two well-defined classes: (1) those who are concerned in the production and distribution of wealth, and (2) those whose function is to regulate the physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and social life of the people. The sustaining element includes workers in the field of agriculture, domestic and personal service, trade and transportation, and in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The governing class comprises government officials, ministers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, editors, and authors. The great bulk of the population representing the toiling masses is found under the first head, while a comparatively small number is required for the so-called learned professions. In the United States, the two elements are divided in the approximate ratio of twenty to one. Traditionally, these two classes have been separated by a wide and deep social gulf. All honor and glory have attached to the higher professional pursuits, while those who recruited the ranks of the toiling world have been accorded a distinctively lower order of consideration and esteem. The youth who were most highly gifted by nature or favored by fortune naturally sought careers in the genteel professions, leaving those of lesser gifts and limited opportunity to recruit the ranks of the lower order of service. Present tendency, however, is against this hard and fast demarcation. Distinction is made to depend upon success, and success upon efficiency, regardless of the nature of the pursuit or vocation. Honor and shame no longer attach to stated occupations or callings, but depend upon achievement in work rather than in choice of task.

The Negro was introduced into this country for the purpose of performing manual and menial labor. It was thought that, for all time to come, he would be a satisfied and contented hewer of wood, drawer of water and tiller of the soil. He was supposed to represent a lower order of creation, a little more than animal and a little less

than human. The dominant dogma of that day denied him capacity or aspiration to rise above the lowest level of menial service. He was deemed destined to everlasting servility by divine decree. His place was fixed and his sphere defined in the cosmic scheme of things. There was no more thought that he would or could ever aspire to the ranks of the learned professions than that like ambition would ever actuate the lower animals. Much of this traditional bias is brought forward and reappears in the present day attitude on the race problem. There still lingers a rapidly diminishing remnant of infallible philosophers who assume intimate acquaintance with the decrees of the Almighty and loudly assert that the Negro is God-ordained to everlasting inferiority. But those who assume foreknowledge with such self-satisfied assurance prudently enough fail to tell us of their secret means of familiarity with the divine plans and purposes. They do not represent the calibre of mind or quality of spirit through which such revelation is usually vouchsafed to man. From this school of opinion, the Negro's aspiration to enter the learned professions is met with ridicule and contempt. The time, money, and effort spent upon the production and preparation of this class have been worse than wasted because they tend to subvert the ordained plan. Higher education is decried; industrial education, or rather the training of the hand, is advised, as the hand is considered the only instrument through which the black man can fulfill his appointed mission.

But social forces, like natural laws, pay little heed to the noisome declaration of preconceived opinion. The inherent capacities of human nature will assert themselves despite the denial of the doctrinaire. The advancement of the Negro during the past fifty years has belied every prediction propounded by this doleful school of philosophy. Affirmed impossibilities have come to pass. The "never" of yesterday has become the actuality of today.

In a homogeneous society where there is no racial cleavage, only the select members of the most favored class of society occupy the professional stations. The element representing the social status of the Negro would furnish few members of the coveted callings. The element of race, however, complicates every feature of the social equation. In India, we are told, the population is divided horizontally by caste and vertically by religion. But in America, the race spirit serves as both a horizontal and a vertical separation.

The Negro is segregated and shut into himself in all social and semi-social relations of life. This isolation necessitates separate ministrative agencies from the lowest to the highest rungs of the ladder of service. During the days of slavery, the interest of the master demanded that he should direct the general social and moral life of the slave. The sudden severance of this tie left the Negro wholly without intimate guidance and direction. The ignorant must be enlightened, the sick must be healed, the poor must have the gospel preached to them, the wayward must be directed, the lowly must be uplifted, and the sorrowing must be solaced. The situation and circumstances under which the race found itself demanded that its ministers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, and editors should, for the most part, be men of their own blood and sympathies. The demands for a professional class were imperative. The needed service could not be effectively performed by those who assume and assert racial arrogance and hand down their benefactions as the cold crumbs that fall from the master's table. The help that is to be helpful to the lowly and the humble must come from the horizontal hand stretched out in fraternal good will, and not the one that is pointed superciliously downward. The professional class who are to uplift and direct the lowly and humble must not say "So far shalt thou come but no farther," but rather "Where I am there ye shall be also."

There is no more pathetic chapter in the history of human struggle than the smothered and suppressed ambition of this race in its daring endeavor to meet the greatest social exigency to supply the professional demand of the masses. There was the suddenness and swiftness of leap as when a quantity in mathematics changes signs in passing through zero or infinity. In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, the plow-hand was transformed into the priest, the barber into the bishop, the house-maid into the school-mistress, the porter into the physician, and the day-laborer into the lawyer. These high places of intellectual and moral authority into which they found themselves thrust by stress of social necessity, had to be operated with at least some semblance of conformity with the standards which had been established by the European through the traditions of the ages. The high places in society occupied by the choicest members of the white race after years of preliminary preparation had to be assumed by men without personal or formal fitness.

The stronger and more aggressive natures pushed themselves into these high callings by sheer force of untutored energy and uncontrolled ambition. That there would needs be much grotesqueness, mal-adjustment, and failures goes without saying. But after making full allowance for human imperfections, the 50,000 Negroes who now fill the professional places among their race represent a remarkable body of men, and indicate the potency and promise of the race.

The federal census of 1900 furnishes the latest available data of the number of Negroes engaged in the several productive and professional pursuits.

Allowance, of course, must be made for growth in several departments during the intervening thirteen years.

NEGROES ENGAGED IN PRODUCTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE PURSUITS, 1900

Agriculture.....	2,143,154
Domestic and personal service.....	1,317,859
Trade and transportation.....	208,989
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	275,116
Total.....	3,945,118

NEGROES ENGAGED IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE, 1900

Clergymen.....	15,528
Physicians and surgeons.....	1,734
Dentists.....	212
Lawyers.....	728
Teachers.....	21,267
Musicians and teachers of music.....	3,915
Architects, designers, draughtsmen.....	52
Actors, professional showmen, etc.....	2,020
Artists and teachers of art.....	236
Electricians.....	185
Engineers and surveyors.....	120
Journalists.....	210
Literary and scientific persons.....	99
Government officials.....	645
Others in professional service.....	268
Total.....	47,219

From these tables it will be seen that only 1 Negro worker in 84 is engaged in professional pursuits. Whereas, 1 white person in 20 is found in this class. According to this standard the Negro has less than one-fourth of his professional quota.

The Negro ministry was the first professional body to assume full control and direction of the moral and spiritual life of the masses. As soon as the black worshipper gained a conscious sense of self-respect, which the Christian religion is sure to impart, he became dissatisfied with the assigned seats in the synagogue. The back pews and upper galleries did not seem compatible with the dignity of those who had been baptized into the fellowship and communion of the saints. With the encouragement of the whites, the Negro worshippers soon set up their own separate houses of worship. There arose a priesthood, after the manner of Melchizedek, without antecedent or preparation. But, notwithstanding all their disabilities, these comparatively ignorant and untrained men have succeeded in organizing the entire Negro race into definite religious bodies and denominational affiliations. The Baptist and Methodist denominations, which operate on the basis of ecclesiastical independence, have practically brought the entire race under their spiritual dominion. This is the one conspicuous achievement placed to the credit of the race by way of handling large interests. Passing over the inevitable imperfections in the development of the religious life of the race, the great outstanding fact remains that this vast religious estate, comprising 30,000 church organizations, with a membership of over 3,500,000 communicants, upon a property basis of \$56,000,000, has been organized and handed down to the rising generation as its most priceless inheritance. The Negro church is not merely a religious institution, but comprises all the complex features of the life of the people. It furnishes the only field in which the Negro has shown initiative and executive energy on a large scale. There is no other way to reach the masses of the race with any beneficent ministrations except through the organizations that these churches have established. The statesmanship and philanthropy of the nation would do well to recognize this fact. Indeed, it is seriously to be questioned if any belated people, in the present status of the Negro, can be wisely governed without the element of priestcraft. Broadly speaking, the Negro is hardly governed at all by the state, but merely coerced and beaten into obedience. He is not encouraged to have any comprehensive understanding of or participating hand in the beneficent aims and objects of government. The sheriff and the trial judge are the only government officials with whom he is familiar; and he meets with these only when his life or his property

is in jeopardy. If it were not for the church, the great mass of the Negro race would be wholly shut off from any organized influence touching them with sympathetic intent. As imperfect as the Negro church must be in many of its features, it is the most potential uplifting agency at work among the people. Eliminate the church, and the masses of the people would speedily lapse into a state of moral and social degeneration worse than that from which they are slowly evolving. The great problem in the uplift of the race must be approached through the pulpit. The Negro preacher is the spokesman and leader of the people. He derives his support from them and speaks, or ought to speak, with the power and authority of the masses. He will be the daysman and peacemaker between the races, and in his hands is the keeping of the key of the destiny of the race. If these 30,000 pulpits could be filled in this generation by the best intelligence, character, and consecration within the race, all of its complex problems would be on a fair way towards solution. The ignorance of the ministry of the passing generation was the kind of ignorance that God utilizes and winks at; but He will not excuse or wink at its continuance. It is a sad day for any race when the "best they breed" do not aspire to the highest and holiest as well as the most influential callings; but it will be sadder still for a retarded race, if its ministry remains in the hands of those who are illy prepared to exercise its high functions.

The rise of the colored teacher is due to the outcome of the Civil War. The South soon hit upon the plan of the scholastic separation of the races and assigned colored teachers to colored schools as the best means of carrying out this policy. There were at first a great many white teachers mainly from the North, but in time, the task of enlightening the millions of Negro children has devolved upon teachers of their own race. It was inevitable that many of the teachers for whom there was such a sudden demand should be poorly prepared for their work. It was and still is a travesty upon terms to speak of such work as many of them are able to render as professional service.

Among the white race, the teacher has not yet gained the fullness of stature as a member of the learned professions. They do not constitute a self-directing body; both are controlled as a collateral branch of the state or city government, of which they constitute a subordinate part. The ranks are recruited mainly from

the female sex. In case of the Negro teacher, these limitations are severely emphasized. The orders and directions come from the white superintendent, but there is some latitude of judgment and discretion in a wise and sensible adaptation. The great function of the Negro teacher is found in the fact that she has committed to her the training of the mind, manners, and method of the young who are soon to take their place in the ranks of the citizenship of the nation. While there is wanting the independent scope which the preacher exercises in the domain of moral and spiritual control, nevertheless the teacher exercises a most important function in the immediate matters committed to her. The Negro teacher has the hardest and heaviest burden of any other element of the teaching profession. Education means more to the Negro than it does to the white child who from inheritance and environment gains a certain coefficient of power aside from the technical acquisition of the school room. The teacher of the Negro child, on the other hand, must impart not only the letter, but also the fundamental meaning of the ways and methods of civilized life. She should have a preparation for work and the fixed consecration to duty commensurate to the imposed task.

✓ The colored doctor has more recently entered the arena. At first, the Negro patient refused to put confidence in the physicians of his own race, notwithstanding the closer intimacy of social contact. It was only after he had demonstrated his competency to treat disease as skillfully as the white practitioner that he was able to win recognition among his own people. The colored physician is still in open competition with the white physician, who never refuses to treat the Negro patient if allowed to assume the disdainful attitude of racial superiority. If the Negro doctor did not secure practically as good results in treating disease as the white practitioner, he would soon find himself without patients. He must be subject to the same preliminary test of fitness for the profession, and must maintain the same standard of efficiency and success. The Negro physicians represent the only body of colored men, who, in adequate numbers, measure up to the full scientific requirements of a learned profession.

By reason of the stratum which the Negro occupies in our social scheme, the race is an easy prey to diseases that affect the health of the whole nation. The germs of disease have no race

prejudice. They do not even draw the line at social equality. The germ that afflicts the Negro today will attack the white man tomorrow. One touch of disease makes the whole world kin, and also kind. The Negro physician comes into immediate contact with the masses of the race. He is a sanitary missionary. His ministrations are not only to his own race, but to the community and to the nation as a whole. The dreaded white plague which the nation desires to stamp out by concerted action seems to prefer the black victim. The Negro physician is one of the most efficient agencies in helping to stamp out this dread enemy of mankind. His success has been little less than marvelous. In all parts of the country he is rendering efficient service and is achieving both professional and financial success. Educated Negro men are crowding into this profession and will of course continue to do so until the demand has been fully supplied. The race can easily support twice the number of physicians now qualified to practice.

The Negro lawyer has not generally been so fortunate as his medical confrere. The relation between attorney and client is not necessarily close and confidential as that of physician and patient, but is more business-like and formal. The client's interests are also dependent upon the judge and jury with whom the white attorney is sometimes supposed to have greater weight and influence. For such reasons, there are fewer Negroes in the profession of law than in the other so-called learned professions. The Negro lawyer is rapidly winning his way over the prejudice of both races, just as the doctor has had to do. There are to be found in every community examples of the Negro lawyer who has won recognition from both races and who maintains a high standard of personal and professional success. A colored lawyer was appointed by President Taft as assistant attorney-general of the United States, and by universal testimony conducted the affairs of his office with the requisite efficiency and dignity. As Negro enterprises multiply and develop, such as banks, building associations, and insurance companies, and the general prosperity of the people increases, the Negro lawyer will find an increasing sphere of usefulness and influence.

Negroes are also found in all the other professional pursuits and furnish a small quota of editors, engineers, electricians, authors, and artists. Merchants, bankers, and business men are rapidly increasing in all parts of the country. Apprehension is sometimes

felt that colored men will rush to the learned professions to the neglect of the humbler lines of service. The facts show that the race at present has not more than a fourth of its quota in the professional pursuits. The demand will always regulate the supply. When the demand has been supplied in any profession, the overflow, will seek outlet in unoccupied fields.

The uplift and quickening of the life of the race depends upon the professional classes. The early philanthropist in the Southern field acted wisely in developing leaders among the people. Philanthropy at best can only furnish the first aid and qualify leaders. The leaders must then do the rest. Any race is hopeless unless it develops its own leadership and direction. It is impossible to apply philanthropy to the masses except through the professional classes.

The higher education of the Negro is justified by the requirements of the leaders of the people. It is a grave mistake to suppose that, because the Negro is relatively backward as compared to the white man, his leaders need not have the broadest and best education that our civilization affords. The more backward and ignorant the led, the more skilled and sagacious should the leader be. It requires more skill to lead the helpless than to guide those who need no direction. If the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into the ditch. The professional class constitutes the light of the race. The Negro needs headlight to guide him safely and wisely amid the dangers and vicissitudes of an envioning civilization.

The Negro teacher meets with every form of ignorance and pedagogical obtuseness that befalls the white teacher; the Negro preacher has to do with every conceivable form of original and acquired sin; the doctor meets with all the variety of disease that the human flesh is heir to; the lawyer's sphere covers the whole gamut involving the rights of property and person. The problems involved in the contact, attrition, and adjustment of the races involve issues which are as intricate as any that have ever taxed human wisdom for solution. If, then, the white man who stands in the high place of authority and leadership among his race, fortified as he is by a superior social environment, needs to qualify for his high calling by thorough and sound educational training, surely the Negro needs a no less thorough general education to qualify him to serve as philosopher, guide, and friend of ten million unfortunate human beings.

THE NEGRO IN UNSKILLED LABOR

By R. R. WRIGHT, Jr., Ph.D.,

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By the term "unskilled labor," as used in this paper, is meant that class of labor which requires the least training of mind and the least skill of hand: that class of labor in which the novice can turn out as large a product as the man of long experience, in which the wage earned the first year is but little different from that earned after many years of service.

Fifty years ago, most of the Negro workers were unskilled laborers on the farms and in the homes of the South. Of the 4,000,000 slaves who were emancipated by Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, there were, approximately, 3,000,000 ten years of age and over, and most of these were engaged in unskilled labor as agricultural workers and domestic servants, general helpers, etc. Very nearly 2,000,000 were workers on the farms of the South, and most of the others were workers in the households of the South. Those were unskilled laborers.

There were, indeed, a few Negroes in the South who were engaged in mechanical pursuits, such as carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, etc., but these constituted only a small percentage. And judged by the standards of today, I am inclined to think that the degree of their skill was far short of that required for successful competition with present day artisans. For example, most of the carpenters of the time could not read and write and built "by guess," rather than from written plans. One has only to examine specimens of their work to become convinced that they, at the very best, rarely reached the average of skill required of mechanics today.

In the North, the 250,000 Negroes were practically all unskilled laborers, with notable exceptions here and there. A census of Negroes in Philadelphia in 1856 disclosed a few hundred who had skilled trades, but the investigator added that "less than two-thirds of those who have trades, follow them. A few of the remainder pursue other avocations from choice, but the greater number are compelled to

abandon their trades on account of the unrelenting prejudice against their color."

The figures for occupations for the census of 1910 have not yet been published. We have therefore to content ourselves with those given out for 1900. In 1900 the census returned Negroes in the following occupations:

NUMBER OF NEGROES, TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN THE FIVE MAIN CLASSES OF OCCUPATION

	Number	Percentage
Agricultural pursuits.....	2,143,176	53.7
Professional service.....	47,324	1.2
Domestic and personal service.....	1,324,160	33.0
Trade and transportation.....	209,154	5.2
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.	275,149	6.9

There were 53.7 per cent of the Negroes in agriculture, 33 per cent in domestic and personal service, 6.9 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 5.2 per cent in trade and transportation, and 1.2 per cent in professional service.

Unskilled labor among Negroes is chiefly in agricultural pursuits, domestic and personal service, and trade and transportation.

Of the 2,143,176 Negroes in agricultural pursuits, in 1900, 1,344,139 were agricultural laborers, while 757,828 were farmers. The agricultural laborers, representing the unskilled workers, had, however, decreased from 1,362,713 in 1890, to 1,344,139 in 1900; while the farmers, representing the skilled group, increased from 590,666 in 1890 to 757,828 in 1900. Other unskilled workers returned in 1900 are chiefly noted under the following: lumbermen and raftsmen, 6,222; turpentine farmers and laborers, 20,744; wood choppers, 9,703.

It is to be noted that although the Negro population has increased nearly 150 per cent, during the past 50 years, the agricultural laborers have remained almost the same in number, while the more skilled workers are constantly increasing.

Next to agriculture, comes domestic and personal service which furnished 1,324,160 persons. As in agriculture, so in domestic service, much of the labor is skilled and semi-skilled, though it may be classed as unskilled. There were 11,536 janitors and sextons; 545,980

laborers; 220,105 launderers and laundresses; 465,787 servants and waiters; 9,681 soldiers, sailors and marines; 2,994 watchmen, policemen and firemen, and 6,070 in other branches of domestic and personal service.

In trade and transportation, of the 209,154 Negroes engaged, the following may be said to be unskilled occupations: draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc., 67,727; hostlers, 14,499; hucksters and peddlers, 3,270; porters and helpers in stores, 28,978; messengers and office boys, 5,077.

In all of these classes of unskilled occupations, the Negroes constitute a much greater percentage than their percentage of the population. In the fifteen unskilled occupations named, there are 2,756,442 Negroes, or nearly 70 per cent of all the Negroes engaged in general occupations. The number of unskilled workers in the race must be at least 75 per cent, or about 3,000,000, about the same number as estimated fifty years ago.

During the past fifty years, however, there have been significant changes in unskilled labor among Negroes, some of which are here enumerated:

1. The race, then largely unskilled, has developed more than a million semi-skilled and skilled workers, business and professional men and women.
2. The standard of the unskilled worker, himself, has been raised.
3. The unskilled worker has adapted himself to a system of wages, as against the system of slavery.
4. The average of intelligence of unskilled labor has been greatly increased.
5. Unskilled labor has become more reliable.
6. Negro labor has survived the competition of the immigrant.
7. The unskilled Negro laborer has migrated largely to the large cities.
8. Unskilled labor, has to a large extent, been the foundation on which Negro businesses, the Negro church, the Negro secret society have grown up.

Out of 3,000,000 unskilled Negro workers who were freed in 1863, and the few thousand unskilled and semi-skilled, who already had their freedom there have developed the various occupations of Negroes we have today. The most notable development is in the emergence of Negro professional men and women, a group of 60,000 or more persons

who follow vocations almost entirely unknown to the Negro race fifty years ago, and to whom is largely entrusted the moral and intellectual, as well as the economic leadership of the group. Next to that comes the development of Negroes in business and in skilled trades, in which the race has built with fair success upon the foundation laid in slavery.

Unskilled labor represents the great mass of Negroes at the close of the war, and in one sense, may be taken to indicate, today, the great mass of Negroes who appear to have stood still in the march of the race's progress. In a truer sense, however, this group of unskilled workers has shared something of the progress of the group. The kind of "unskilled labor" given by the Negro fifty years ago is quite different from that given today. Even as the standard in skilled trades has increased, so has the standard in unskilled labor increased. The Negro domestic servant of today has shown much improvement over the old house servant, and one servant now often does the work of two or three of the older generation. The same is true in the case of labor in various other fields. Indeed, this increase in the efficiency standard has done much to raise the degree of respect given much unskilled work among Negroes, as in the case of waiters in hotels, janitors of large buildings, butlers, stewards and many kinds of "day labor."

But one of the greatest changes has been the adapting of itself to the wages system. Much of the skilled and semi-skilled labor of the South had received wages before the Civil War, but very little of the unskilled labor. Working for regular wages required knowledge of the use of money, planning for expending the same, estimating the value of work and its relation to wages. Today, practically all city Negroes work for wages and the wages system is more and more in vogue upon the farms, to such an extent, at least that we are justified in saying that Negro labor has, during these fifty years, practically changed from a system of slavery to a system of wages.

In fifty years, the Negro worker has decreased in illiteracy from 90 per cent in 1860 to 30.4 in 1910. The preponderance of numbers, then on the side of illiteracy, is now on the side of literacy. Today there are more than 5,000,000 Negroes over 10 years of age who can read and write against 250,000 in 1863. Though there are still 2,200,000 Negroes over 10 years of age who cannot read and write, and who comprise a large part of the unskilled labor of the race, the learning

to read and write has made possible not only better efficiency in kinds of labor which Negroes already had, but also the entrance of new avenues of labor unknown to them before.

Not only in intelligence has there been made progress, but also adaptation to a new condition. In all races, the unskilled laborer is the greatest sufferer, and the hardest to adapt himself. In 1863 the Negro unskilled laborer was freed. Many of the farm laborers have entered the ranks of farm owners who now number more than 250,000, while the unskilled group has gradually become more reliable. In the first years of the period under consideration, there was great alarm with regard to the regularity of work. The newly found freedom meant to many Negroes opportunity for idleness and profligacy. When they did work, it was frequently for a few days in the week, and after pay day many were missing until their money was all or nearly all spent and they were under necessity to work. Vagrancy laws, check systems, credit systems, convict labor, peonage, etc., have not done as much to remedy this as have education and the awakening in these Negroes of new desires and opportunities for enjoyment. While there is a great deal still to be desired, there are now hundreds of thousands of Negroes who receive pay on Saturday night and return to work regularly on Monday morning, working six days in the week.

The Negro has furnished, under a wage system, the bulk of the unskilled labor for the farmers of the South. For the past fifty years, by far the greater portion of the South's greatest product, cotton, has been made by the Negro laborer, while its railroads and streets, its sewers and waterworks have been largely constructed by Negroes. The writer was in his twenty-first year before he had ever seen as many as a dozen white men at one time working on the streets, digging sewers or laying railroads. Born and reared in the black belt of the South, he had only seen Negroes do this work and had come to believe it was their work until a visit to Chicago introduced him to his first large group of white sewer diggers.

At the time the Negro was freed, there came another source of unskilled labor to the country, the foreign immigrant. For nearly fifty years, however, these immigrants made but little impression upon the Negro unskilled laborer of the South.

The Negro has invaded the North, not only as a farm laborer and a domestic servant, but also as a laborer in public works, and hundreds

of miles of sewerage and of streets in our great cities are largely the labor of Negroes. The movement of the city has been led chiefly by the unskilled Negro from the farm as the Negro farm owner and operator had no need to go to the city. The growth of the modern city, by its need for unskilled labor, urged Negroes to crowd within its borders. It allured, for here was work, more steady wages, payable every week or fortnight, better protection of person and property, better schools, more excitement and enjoyment.

Unskilled Negro labor has invaded the Northern cities within the past fifty years, and while it has been with extreme difficulty that the skilled laborer has found a place, the Negro unskilled laborer has been a welcome guest. In nearly every large city, special employment agencies have been opened in order to induce Negro workers from the South to come North, where there is abundant public work to be done, on the streets, sewers, filter plants, subways, railroads, etc. Negro hodcarriers have almost driven whites out of business in some cities, while as teamsters, firemen and street cleaners, they are more and more in demand. In the hotel business, the Negro is in demand in the large cities, as waiter, bellman, etc., while the Negro women are more and more in demand as domestic servants.

The cities having the largest Negro population in 1910 were Washington, New York, New Orleans, Baltimore and Philadelphia. Their Negro population in 1860 and 1890 and 1910 is shown below:

	1860	1890	1910
Washington.....	10,985	75,572	94,446
New York.....	12,472	23,601	91,709
New Orleans.....	24,074	64,491	89,262
Baltimore.....	27,898	67,104	87,749
Philadelphia.....	22,185	39,371	84,459
Chicago.....	955	14,271	44,103

New York has made a greater increase in its Negro population during the past twenty years than any large city and Philadelphia is next. This has been due to the urgency of its call for unskilled labor.

In Philadelphia, of 21,128 males of gainful occupations, in 1900, 13,726 were in domestic and personal service or nearly two-thirds of the whole; more than 7,500 of them were returned as "laborers not speci-

fied." Of the 14,095 female workers, 12,920 or more than 90 per cent were returned as domestic and personal servants; 10,522 being "servants and waitresses." In New York, in 1900, out of 20,395 Negro males, 11,843 were in domestic service and out of the 16,114 females, 14,586 were in domestic service. In Chicago, 8,381 of the 13,005 Negro males in gainful occupations were in domestic service, and 3,998 of the 4,921 females were similarly employed. These three cities are typical of the Negro at work in the large cities of the North.

Next to domestic and personal service, which is chiefly, though not entirely unskilled labor, the Negro of the cities is employed in the unskilled occupations of trade and transportation. Taking Philadelphia, as an example, we find the chief occupations of Negro males, who are employed in trade and transportation, as follows: Draymen, hackmen and teamsters, 1,957; porters and helpers, 921; messengers, errand and office boys, 346; hostlers, 270. These four trades represent more than 70 per cent of the Negroes in trade and transportation, while they represent only 2.7 per cent of the total men of the city in trade and transportation.

It has been the Negro unskilled laborer who has given the heartiest support to the organization which has given an opportunity for the expression of the genius for organization and business within the race. The Negro church is the only Protestant church in America which has kept hold of the common laborer, and it is the largest and strongest organization among Negroes. The Negro secret societies, now strong and powerful, are the result of the coöperation of the Negro laborer. These societies are composed of Negro laborers who have given their heartiest support to all forms of Negro business, and have furnished by their patronage, the foundation upon which the Negro physicians and other professional men have risen.

Women and children make up a large proportion of the unskilled workers among the Negroes. Of the 5,329,292 females reported by the census of 1900 as engaged in gainful occupations, 1,316,872 were Negro women. Negro females represented 34.8 per cent of the female wage earners of the United States, while they were only 11.4 per cent of the total female population. These Negro females were engaged chiefly in domestic service and agriculture. There were 509,687 Negro female agricultural laborers out of a total of 665,791 female agricultural laborers in the country. The Negro women constituted 76 per cent of all female agricultural laborers in the

country. There were 1,285,031 female servants and waitresses in 1900 of whom 345,386 or 27 per cent were Negroes. Negro females numbered 218,228 or 65 per cent of the 335,711 laundresses; 82,443 or 66 per cent of the 124,157 "laborers not specified." More than 40 per cent of all the Negro females of the country over 10 years of age were at work, as against 16 per cent of all the white females.

Of the Negro women at work 376,114 were married or 26 per cent of all the Negro married women, while only 3 per cent of the white married women of the country were at work. Of the married women at work, nearly 90 per cent were engaged as agricultural laborers, servants and waitresses, laundresses, and laborers not specified, the four divisions of the census which comprise most Negro female workers.

Between the ages of 10 and 15 years inclusive, there were 516,276 Negro children at work, 319,057 boys and 197,219 girls, chiefly at unskilled occupations, the chief ones being as follows: 404,255 agricultural laborers, 45,436 "laborers not specified," 43,239 were servants and waiters, a total of 492,930 or 95.5 per cent. From 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, 49.3 per cent of all the Negro boys of the country, and 30.6 per cent of the Negro girls were engaged in gainful occupations, chiefly unskilled, as against 22.5 per cent and 7 per cent for white boys and girls respectively.

The last named item, showing that nearly half of the Negro boys and nearly a third of the Negro girls from 10 to 15 years of age are workers in unskilled occupations, should be compared with the following report from the same census: There were 548,661 Negro boys of the ages of 10 to 14 inclusive. Only 277,846 of these were in school. Of the 1,092,020 Negro children 10 years to 14 years inclusive, only 587,583 or 54 per cent were in school, while 504,437 or 46 per cent were out of school; and only 255,730, or 20 per cent of the total Negro boys of this age period, received six months of schooling. The remaining 866,290 Negro boys and girls 10 to 14 years, 86 per cent of the total of that age period, who got less than six months of schooling, and certainly the 504,437 who got no schooling at all during the census year, make up the great mass of the Negro unskilled laborers whose families in the future must be supported by the work of father, mother and child to the physical, moral and economic detriment of our country.

On the other hand, it has been chiefly the school which is gradually raising the Negro from unskilled to skilled labor, and making even his unskilled service more productive, by enlarging his desires for consumption, increasing his foresight, and in general strengthening his character.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE TIDEWATER COUNTIES OF VIRGINIA

By T. C. WALKER,

Gloucester Courthouse, Va.

About fifty years ago occurred the emancipation of four million slaves. Prior to the general emancipation there were in each state, and perhaps in each county of the Southern States, a few who were called free Negroes. The only difference in the two classes of Negroes was that one was without task-masters, though subject to all the hardships of slavery save the task-master. A few of these free Negroes in each county owned a small acreage. At the close of the Civil War, as far as our records disclose, the free Negroes owned 537 acres of land in Gloucester County. This information is not claimed to be thoroughly accurate because of the destruction of the records during the Civil War. Even the United States Government, prior to 1880, as far as my information goes, had not seen fit to tabulate Negro ownership of land.

In every clerk's office, if not destroyed, will be found copies of the United States census report for the year 1880. While these reports do not tabulate Negro ownership of land, they do with the aid of old citizens give such information as enables us to come to some definite conclusion as to land ownership by Negroes. This census report shows that in Gloucester County there were 195 Negroes who owned about 2300 acres of land. There were others who had begun to buy but whose titles were not perfected. The legislature of 1890-1891 provided for the separate enlistment of property by the two races. Since that time we have been able to give some definite idea of the ownership of land in Virginia. Each year there has been a general increase in the ownership of land in all the Tidewater counties. The auditor's report of 1912 shows that there are 132,897 acres of land in Gloucester County. Of this amount the Negro holding has increased from 2,300 acres in 1880 to 19,772 acres in 1912, valued at \$139,619 with improvements valued at \$122,444. Prior to 1880 there were no buildings and improvements worth counting on the land owned

by Negroes. The great bulk of them lived in one room log cabins. I have designated for convenience sake the following counties as "Tidewater" counties, viz., Accomac, Caroline, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Essex, Gloucester, Isle of Wight, James City, King and Queen, King William, Lancaster, Mathews, Middlesex, Nansemond, New Kent, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Richmond, Princess Anne, Southampton, Warwick, Westmoreland and York. At the close of the war it is fair to estimate in the absence of any definite record that the Negroes in these twenty-four counties owned less than 5,000 acres of land. Their holdings have increased during this period of fifty years from about 5,000 acres, whose estimated value with improvements was less than \$70,000, to 421,465 acres, whose value with improvements according to the auditor, is \$4,282,947. According to the auditor of Virginia for 1912 the Negroes own in the whole state 1,629,626 acres valued at \$8,664,625, and the total value of Negro farm lands in Virginia with improvements thereon is \$14,156,757.

These farm lands are increasing in value year by year due to the increased knowledge of agriculture by the great bulk of Negroes. The census reports for 1900 show that there were 44,834 Negro farmers in the state. Of this number 26,566 owned their lands while 17,030 were renters. The census of 1910 tells us there were 48,114 Negro farmers in the state. Of this number 32,228 owned their farms while 15,706 rented. Of these 32,228 farms, 26,200 are free of mortgage or debt, leaving but 5,609 mortgaged. There may be some discrepancy in the value as estimated by the census bureau and that by the auditor of public accounts. The auditor fixes his value for taxation and the Negro holdings are put upon the same footing with white holdings to evade taxation, while the census bureau fixes its basis of valuation by the actual observation of the enumerators as they go upon those farms.

The period from 1900 to 1910, according to the census bureau, shows that the increase of Negro farm owners is 21.3 per cent. It is also shown that 67 per cent of the Negro farmers of Virginia own their farms while the census of 1900 shows 59.3 per cent. Gloucester County, for the size of its acreage and Negro population has perhaps the largest number of Negro land owners of any one county in the state. We have shown that in 1880 there were 195 while today there are 1895 Negro land owners.

The greatest agency employed in the development of the Tidewater counties, in fact of the state of Virginia, in educational and material conditions, is the Hampton Normal School located at Hampton, Va. For forty or more years this school has been sending out its graduates until every county in the Tidewater section, and many other counties in the state, have Hampton graduates with the Hampton spirit. They go forth to make peace and cultivate the most friendly feeling between the races. Another branch of this agency now employed in the development of the soil is Hampton's direct agents and graduates who live among the people, and the coöperative demonstration farm work as carried on in coöperation with the Hampton School and the United States Department of Agriculture. Mr. J. B. Pierce, a Hampton graduate, is the director of the demonstration work in Virginia.

Nothing could show progress more than the increased output of farm products, the accumulation of improved farm implements and improved stock. The outgrowth of this development is the great number of bank deposits in the banks of Tidewater, especially those located in the rural districts. I am informed that the Negroes of Gloucester County have on savings deposits in the bank at Gloucester Court House more than \$20,000, not to say anything about the running accounts in the two banks in the county. In 1880 there was not a Negro in Gloucester depositing in any bank and few in all Tidewater, Va. The increase in the accumulation of town and city property has followed close in the wake of the rural sections. In 1880 they owned few town or city lots. Today the town lots with improvements are valued at \$3,134,008, while the city lots are valued at \$3,164,272, with improvements valued at \$5,140,335. At the close of the war it is fair to presume, in the absence of records, that the entire Negro population of Virginia did not pay taxes on \$1,000,000 worth of property; today, according to the auditor, they pay taxes on real property valued at \$25,595,402. I have referred to the possible discrepancy as estimated by the state and census bureaus. The census bureau for 1910 puts the value of all farms owned by Negroes in Virginia at \$28,059,338, while the auditor, as just stated, collects from the Negroes taxes on realty valued at \$25,595,402.

For the comforts of life and as a mark of increased civilization the personal property owned by any race is a fair test. Fifty years

ago the Negroes of these Tidewater counties owned but little personal property. Their furniture consisted of old chests, boxes and roughly made bureaus, bedsteads and the like. Today such property as they then had, save, perhaps, one feather bed and two pillows usually held by each family, would not be assessed at any value. The character of personal property, such as house furniture, cooking utensils and the like, now possessed by them, is such as is produced in some of the best factories of the country. Many of these homes have in them up-to-date musical instruments. Pleasure carriages and buggies are among the advanced acquisitions. It is well-nigh impossible to give accurately the value of the personal property year by year. I have taken the auditor's report for 1904 as the first basis of improvement in the acquisition of personal property. By this report it will be seen that the Negroes of these twenty-four counties pay taxes on personal property valued at \$1,771,358. The auditor's report for 1912 shows that the Negroes in these 24 counties paid over to the state \$20,818.24, the amount from taxes assessed on personal property.

We hear a great deal about the race problem. The problem becomes more acute as race prejudice increases. The Negroes of these Tidewater counties, in fact all over the state, have been greatly encouraged in their efforts to accumulate property and to become substantial citizens by the best element of native white people. The encouragement given by the better element of the white people has meant more to the Negro than it is possible to estimate. I do not mean by this that the Negro has been accorded all of his rights. With the same friendly feeling and the same anxiety on the part of the better element of white people to see the Negro have fair play as to home making and character building, there is a great future for further development of these Tidewater counties.

THE NEGRO AND THE IMMIGRANT IN THE TWO AMERICAS

AN INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE COLOR PROBLEM

BY JAMES B. CLARKE,

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To the colored man of foreign birth, and especially of Latin-American origin, who lands on American shores fifty years after the issuance of the emancipation proclamation, the keenness of racial antipathy and the persistence of statutory discrimination in various states against persons of African descent form a feature of American life as puzzling in its *raison d'être* as it is annoying and unpleasant in its operation. "Why is it," asked the distinctly Negroid officers and sailors of the Brazilian dreadnaught which recently visited this country, "that in the street cars at Norfolk we had to be separated from our white or white Indian fellows and friends? In New York the petty officers of our ship were invited to an entertainment by the men of similar rating on an American battleship and the waiters at the hotel refused to serve some of our men who were black. We cannot understand these things."

Small wonder that the foreign visitors should have evinced surprise at this disagreeable feature of an otherwise memorably pleasant reception in the United States of America. It is hardly twenty-five years since the last vestiges of slavery were removed from the then infant United States of Brazil, but that country knows no distinction of color or race. Law and custom guarantee equal opportunity to all citizens in every field of usefulness to the republic, and some of the most distinguished presidents, to say nothing of lesser officials, have been men of Negro blood. In this country, on the other hand, where people have better opportunities for education and ought to be and claim to be more enlightened and humane than the peoples to the south, fifty years after a most destructive war which is supposed to have abolished all distinctions in citizenship, racial prejudice pursues with a most relentless and intolerant hatred the faintest trace

of African blood and even over-rides the common demands of international courtesy and renders impossible the attainment of that Pan-American Union, based on genuine good-will and mutual respect, which the republic of the north is now so anxious to form.

The characteristic point of view of the Latin-American with regard to the diverse constituent elements in the population of his country is that racial considerations shall not operate to deprive a citizen of the opportunity of useful service to his country nor to rob him of the recognition due to such service. No man is assumed to be superior or inferior to any other man because of the color of his grandmother's skin. Every man who demonstrates his worth commands and receives the respect and appreciation of his fellows. Political and economic difficulties and dissensions there may be, but race is not a controlling factor in governmental policy and in the everyday conduct of the people. The Indian, Benito Juarez, proved himself at least a more enduring ruler of Mexico than did the white man, Madero, and, whatever else may be said of Porfirio Diaz, the fact of his Indian blood has never been held up as a reproach against him by such pure whites as live in the country of the Aztecs. Nor is the Spanish-American mind capable of denying to men of Negro blood the recognition to which their abilities entitle them. Despite northern influence, the name of the mulatto Maceo is yet revered with that of Máximo Gómez, of doubtful whiteness, as a national hero of Cuba, and Juan Gualberto Gómez is still one of the most honored patriots of the first American protectorate. In countries where there is now little, if any, trace of Negro blood in the population, there is no tendency to forget the services of colored men in the past. Buenos Ayres is adorned with a statue of Falucho, a Negro soldier, and the Government of Venezuela has just dedicated in Caracas a monument to Alexandre Pétion, the mulatto president of Haiti whose aid, in men and money, to Simón Bolívar at the most critical moment in the fortunes of the Libertador led to the independence of the vast region which now comprises the republics of Venezuela, Colombia, Panamá, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru. Thus, at a time when the Monroe Doctrine could not have been enforced by the nation which gave the name of its president to Great Britain's proposal for a joint Anglo-American recognition of the new republics, the earliest formed and last recognized of these nations, peopled by men who are by law and custom invariably "inferior" to white men in North America,

Haiti, the Black Republic, had already struck the most vital blow at Spanish rule in America and paved the way for the present dominant position of the United States in the Western Hemisphere.

Knowing these facts, it is not surprising that white men in Latin-America, and there are more of them than Anglo-Saxon America is inclined to think, do not regard the possession, real or suspected, of Negro blood as a crime punishable with eternal and irrevocable exclusion from everything that savors of honorable service and due consideration in one's country. If these facts were also known or acknowledged by white men between the Gulf of Mexico and the Great Lakes, it is possible that the Brazilian visitors would have been spared the dread of terrors unseen and, for them, perhaps non-existent; but nevertheless, well founded on their observation of the gulf that separates the native white from the non-white of North America. "If I went into one of these restaurants along Broadway," asked the son of a Portuguese from the Azores, whose ability has won him a position of trust and responsibility as an officer in the navy of his colored mother's country, "would they serve me as they would in Paris or Newcastle-on-Tyne or Rio de Janeiro?" The only way to secure an answer to such a question, would, of course, be to enter the restaurant and order food. The response would perhaps be in the negative, but in any case it would most likely be made by a man who was not himself a native of this country, who had not become thoroughly familiar with the language and had not thought it necessary to relinquish his allegiance to some European monarch in order to enjoy the benefits of residence in a country which is, to him, free. For a most important element in the maintenance of anti-Negro feeling in this country since the Civil War is the constant and ever-increasing stream of immigration from Europe.

Fifty years ago, the waiter in New York and in many other Northern cities was usually a man of color, as was the barber, the coachman, the caterer or the gardener. True enough, he had little opportunity to rise above such menial occupation, but with the growth of the humanitarian, if rather apologetic, attitude toward the Negro engendered by the great conflict which had brought about the verbal abolition of slavery in the states where it then existed, it is possible that the Negro's status in New York and the other free states would have been rapidly and permanently improved, industrially as well as in civic recognition, had not the current of immigration, which had been

retarded for a decade or two during the Civil War and the preceding agitation, started with renewed force on the cessation of the conflict. The newcomer from Europe had to be provided for. Being more suited to the climate and conditions of life in the Northern States and at the same time possessing greater skill and experience, not only in the menial employments which had engaged the Negroes, but also in the trades and industries in which the freedmen had acquired during slavery a rudimentary foundation, the European immigrant soon outstripped his Negro rival for the employment and the respect of the American in the Northern States. With his economic position thus secured, the new American, knowing little or nothing of the terrible struggle which had preceded his coming, looked and still looks upon the Negro with the contemptuous eye of an easy victor over a hopelessly outnumbered, weak and incompetent foe. I do not pretend to say that the immigrant is not often to be found among those who keep alive the torch of liberty and justice in America, but I do believe that the continuance of racial hatred in the North is traceable to the Europeans whose lack of contact with the Negro has been exploited and played upon by native whites who have nothing to think and talk about but an exaggerated idea of the virtues and capacities of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In the Southern States where, although there is little direct immigration, the poor white population, particularly in the southwest, has been largely increased by recruits from the Americanized immigrant population of the North, the Negro, by reason of his numbers, has been able to make a better showing in industry. This condition is in no small measure due to the fact that the ruling classes prefer the Negro to the immigrant. But, whatever the reason, the black people still hold their own and, despite efforts to check them, they are constantly securing a firmer footing in the industries of the South. For the present at least, the European immigrant is not likely to become a dangerous economic menace to the Negro in the South. Some few years ago an attempt to start a line of steamers transporting European settlers from Hamburg to Charleston met with disastrous failure. Experiments with Italian agriculturists in Mississippi and elsewhere have not influenced the tendency of the Negro to become a landowner, for *The Progressive Farmer*, a southern agricultural organ, has found it necessary to start a campaign for the passage of laws to check the encroachment of Negroes upon territory occupied by white farmers.

Without the hindrance of artificial restrictions, the effect of which cannot be permanent, the position of the Negro in the agriculture of the Southern States seems to be assured. Present tendencies in other industries in these states, and it is only in these that the Negro is ever likely to be an important economic factor, seem to guarantee the black man "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in equal security with the white man. In the mining regions of Alabama and Tennessee the proprietors of mines, with the aid of aspirants to political honors, have been in the habit of fomenting race prejudice as a means of nullifying the power of union labor by forcing the men to form racial unions and by using the one as a club to suppress the other group in case of a strike. In Alabama two years ago the governor, without a shade of legal authority, ordered the militia to raze a strike camp just as the miners were nearing success, because the promiscuous arrangement of the tents occupied by white and colored people did not meet with the approval of a public opinion which cared nothing about the color of the men while in the mines. The miners themselves had very different ideas and it is probable that experiences of this kind will force them to a fearless recognition of the unity and identity of the interests of labor. The Socialist party and the I. W. W. have done much for the admission of colored men to labor unions and the I. W. W. has met with notable success in this respect in the lumber camps of Louisiana. In many other important industries as, for instance, ship-carpentry at Savannah and other ports, colored men are admitted into the unions with white men. Southern cotton mills are beginning to employ Negro labor. As a result of the recent anti-Japanese agitation, employers and workmen alike have come to regard the Negro as the lesser of two evils and, in railroad construction in several places in the West and Northwest, black men have been engaged to replace the oriental laborers. During the past half century, the dominant, if unexpressed, idea in the mind of the average white man toward the colored man who sought the right to earn his bread anywhere in this country was that he ought to be crushed and eliminated if his labor in any way savored of competition with the white man. But with the growing recognition of the inter-dependence of the races and the increased tolerance of labor unions toward black men, competition between Negroes and immigrants tends to give way to coöperation between black men and white all over the country.

This is the condition that exists in Brazil, where the free people

of color, both on account of their numbers and of their ability, had secured a footing from which they could not be shaken by an immigration which has not been so large or so different in origin and standards of life from the native worker as has been the case with the immigrant and the Negro in North America. When the center of American interests is transferred from considerations of race to the recognition of those surer standards of birth, education and ideals, by which alone citizenship is to be adjudged, racial prejudice against the Negro and Negroid will become as insignificant in Anglo-Saxon America as it is rare in Latin-America. Toward this end the Negro and the immigrant should strive by removing the barriers of color and of mutual fear or distrust which separate them, in order to make possible the realization of the new and really United States of North America, without which there can be no union of all America.

THE TENANT SYSTEM AND SOME CHANGES SINCE EMANCIPATION

BY THOMAS J. EDWARDS,

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The close of the Civil War marked a great change in the labor system upon the plantation. The Negroes who were held and considered as property of masters previous to emancipation were now free men, having as their principal asset good conditioned bodies. The matter of serious import which confronted these simple, but strong, people was the task of making a living in a country devastated by war. Former masters were confronted with problems equally as difficult as those confronting the former slaves. These masters had been deprived of what represented both labor and property; war had left them for the most part landowners, and nothing more. The task of starting a new life was equally difficult for both concerned—the landlord with land and accessories, the freed man with physical strength and a slave's experience. The first two or three years after the war, were, therefore, a period of readjustment between land and labor under new and trying conditions.

Immediately after the Civil War through the share-cropping, wage-earning and standing-wage system, labor was gradually adjusted to the soil. According to the readiness with which landlords had or could secure means, all these three systems were more or less used at the same time. In many cases, as it is today, the wage-earning and the share-cropping systems existed simultaneously on the same plantation, while on the smaller plantations "croppers" up with their crops would serve in the place of earners in assisting those behind with crops on the same plantation. When croppers served as wage hands their pay like other expenses was deducted from the croppers' share in the crops.

The share-cropping and the wage-earning systems are with us still, but the standing-wage system which was originated immediately after the Civil War is not now in vogue. The method of work got its name, the standing-wage-system, because "hands" worked for a period

of six months or a year, before a complete settlement was made. Rations were issued weekly or monthly. The wage paid standing-wage hands was \$50, \$75 and \$100 a year. This system originated with the motive of holding labor to the soil until end of crop.

That which seems to be a modified form of the old standing-wage system is the part-standing-wage system which exists today in many black belt countries in the South. Under this system a hand receives a monthly wage, which is seldom less than \$5 or over \$7. In addition to the wages paid in money he is given three or four acres of land to cultivate for his own use as a further compensation for his service. In cultivating this plot of three or four acres the "hand" is given the use of his employer's team and farming implements on Saturday when most of the work for himself is done. It is because the "hand" receives part of his wages in monthly cash payments and the remainder in a harvested crop that this system is called the part standing-wage system. The system of work appeals more to the older people than the young, so it is reasonable to suppose that it too will shortly pass away. It is evident that the chief element in the part standing-wage system is keeping uncertain labor connected principally as a wage-hand to a larger plantation system.

The four-day plan of cropping had even a shorter life than the standing-wage system. Under this system the "hand" worked four days for the landlord who in turn furnished him with land, stock, feed for stock and farming implements, with which to cultivate a farm for himself the remaining two days. This system was quite advantageous to the "hand" providing he had a family large enough to do hoe-work upon his own farm while he worked four days for the landlord. In this system a weekly ration was issued simply to the "hand" or hands who worked four days. In case there were other members of the family, other arrangements were made according to ability to give service upon the plantation or around the landlord's home. It is probable that the system died, because the landlord's profits were small and the "hand" crops were poor.

That which has been said of the standing and the part standing-wage systems and the four-day plan for cropping has been sufficient to throw some light on the attempt in early days succeeding Civil War toward adjusting labor and land. No system seems to have a more permanent effect than what is known today as the share-cropping system. For many years after the Civil War, work on

shares had a very different meaning from that which it bears today. Crops were cultivated for the one-fifth, one-fourth, two-fifths and one-third. In most cases when the cropper worked for any fractional part below one-third he received a part ration. Dividing crops into smaller fractional parts than one-half was at that time considered very reasonable by those who had served years in bondage without pay and whose demands for education and better methods of living had no likeness in comparison to what they are today. It has been less than a decade since the wants of each individual farmer and his family have so increased and the competition between landlords in holding labor upon their plantation has grown so keen that the fractional part gradually increased, until now working on shares means generally all over the Southland that at harvesting time that crop will be halved between landlord and cropper.

The word "crops" as used in verbal or written contracts has particular reference to cotton and corn. Everything raised behind the mule, except that raised on the one acre allowed for the garden and house spot, is subject to division. According to the terms of the contract, the landlord furnishes the cropper the land on which the crops are cultivated, and farming implements, plows, scooters, sweeps, stock and feed for the stock; in return for which the landlord is to have one-half of the entire crop made by the cropper and his hands. In consideration "of the above" the share cropper agrees to furnish and feed at the command of the landlord, all labor necessary to cultivate and harvest the crop and take good care of all stock implements intrusted to his care. In the event of failing properly to cultivate the crops he authorizes the landlord to hire what labor he may deem necessary to work the crop, and to deduct the cost of this labor from the cropper's half of the crops.

The landlord permits the steady, careful and thoughtful cropper to use his mule and buggy on Sundays, and use the farming implements in the cultivation of his garden or very small plot of watermelons and sugar cane. When the main crops, cotton and corn, are not in need of work, the cropper has time to cultivate his garden, and to do odd jobs on his house, fences and stables if there are any. The landlord usually provides the cropper with the available vacant house of one, two, three or even four rooms as the case may be. The size of the house, and accommodations in barn and stable readily give immediate advantage to landlord, and cropper.

It is not altogether true that the landlord keeps the stock and vehicles in his home lot. These are in most cases left to the care and keeping of the cropper if he be in possession of suitable stables and lots.

The amount of supervision a cropper receives from the landlord depends largely upon how successfully he keeps his crops (especially cotton) worked up. If he gets behind with his "crops" the landlord may compel every member of the cropper's family, and even secure members from other families upon the plantation, to clean out the crops. In case the landlord does secure others, outside of the cropper's family to assist with the crops, the landlord avails himself of the clause in the contract which permits him to hire the labor necessary to work the "crops" and to charge the cost of the labor to the cropper's half of the "crop."

As a rule the share cropper makes more to the mule than other classes of farmers. The reasons are as follows: (1) He is given the best plot of land upon which to make his "crops" because the larger the "crops" the more satisfactory will be results for both landlord and cropper. (2) In most cases supervision is very close, which is most natural since the share-cropping system involves so much capital and risk from the landlord. Here we find a condition not unlike that in every phase of occupation, an effort to get as large return as possible for capital invested.

Crops are usually divided in the presence of the landlord, during or immediately after harvesting time. The cropper gets as his share one-half of the lint cotton and cotton seed, one-half of the corn and corn-fodder, and one-half of the field peas. All products raised on the house spot acre come to the cropper, undivided. Though the terms in the contract consider everything raised behind the mule subject to division, yet sugar cane, sweet potatoes and watermelons may not be divided providing the landlord furnished neither fertilizer nor seeds for planting.

Upon almost every plantation of considerable extent some women share-croppers are usually found. They are as a rule widows with children large enough to help out with the farm work. These croppers are most common in black-belt countries, where the large plantation systems prevail. For example, one of these widow share-croppers of Macon County, assisted by her two sons, one thirteen, and the other eighteen years old, during the bad cotton crop year

of 1909, made thirteen bales to her one plow. Another whose husband died leaving a debt of \$125, and three children to care for, worked on shares during the same bad year, made ten bales of cotton to her plow, paid her debts, her expenses of living while making the crop, including half of the cost of the fertilizer used upon her farm, and saved \$150. The latter widow realizing the responsibility upon her of debt and care of children was advanced only \$35 which was used in purchasing food. The success of these two widows does not indicate by any means that women share-croppers are always successful, but it does show that under this system, because of landlords' supervision, women may succeed as well as men, providing they can furnish the labor.

As a rule the contract which explains the terms by which crops are to be cultivated and divided makes no provision for the cropper's advances or food; nor any disposition of the commercial fertilizer of which the cropper pays for half out of his half of the crops when made and divided. Terms for advances as a rule are made outside of the crop-contract. Advances in money may be issued directly through a banker with orders from the landlord permitting the cropper to have certain amounts at stated times. Usually the landlord and the cropper agree upon a lump sum of \$35, \$50, \$100 or \$200. According to the cropper's needs, this money is issued in monthly installments of \$8, \$9, \$10, \$15, and \$20. Of course the cropper does not receive the lump sum agreed upon at the time the food-contract is made for the following reasons: (1) the cropper might use his money unwisely and consequently be obliged to call upon the landlord to continue, or finish the crop; and (2) by holding it the landlord has money at his disposal for cultivating the crops if the head of the family becomes disabled, or does not stay to carry out his contract. Advances are often made through a merchant-landlord of a large plantation who may have a store of such necessities as will meet the demand of tenants upon the plantation. In case the landlord does not own a store, orders are given by the landlord to some merchant of a small town or village, or to the merchant-landlord near, permitting the cropper to have certain amounts of merchandise at stated times during farming season. In such a case the landlord is directly responsible to the merchant for the merchandise which the cropper receives. The interest charged on borrowed cash varies from 10 to 15 per cent, but in many cases

has been known to be considerably more. Furthermore, the interest on merchandise has been known to double itself notwithstanding the fact that the cropper pays a yearly interest upon the lump sum agreed upon for a cropping season of six or seven months, he receives his allotments of cash or merchandise in monthly installments.

The cropper who for one reason or another becomes dissatisfied and desires to transfer his service and that of his family from one landlord to another, has been known to do so by getting the landlord he wishes to serve to pay to the one he previously served the amount of debt the cropper owes. In case the agreement is made the cropper comes under contract of a new master bringing an interest-bearing debt. The amount paid in transferring croppers has been known to range from \$25 to \$200.

The cropper apart from a plantation is, of course, free from close supervision. He is more aggressive and trustworthy than the plantation cropper described above, and, therefore, is left largely to contract his own affairs. He may have been in previous years a renter who, through some misfortune, such as losing a mule, prefers working on halves until he can get sufficiently strong to rent again. In case this type of cropper owns a mule, the landlord rents it, as a rule, not by paying cash money but by making some agreement with the cropper equivalent to what a season's rent for one mule would be. If the cropper has feed for his own mule an agreement between landlord and cropper is fixed in some way by the landlord making allowances in some side crop, such as watermelons, sweet potatoes or sugar cane. It is the type of cropper described above that is on the verge of becoming a renter in case his crop turns out to be good.

Regardless of the success croppers may make with their crops, while working on shares, there is a burning desire among them for less supervision and more freedom in managing their own affairs. The opportunity of becoming renters offers a means of satisfying such a desire, and very often a cropper remains upon the same plantation, occupies the same house and rents the same land, and quietly transfers from cropper to renter without the least difficulty.

It is reasonable that in early years succeeding the Civil War both share-croppers and renters existed; but it is still more reasonable that renters were fewer in number, since renting required an accumulation of capital, such as, a mule, paid or partly paid for,

some feed for the mule, wagon and farming implements. As the years passed croppers went into the renting class, first, because they desired the management of their business in full; and, secondly, because the landlords were just as willing to free themselves from the close oversight of the cropper's affairs as the cropper was to be free. We have no figures to indicate just how rapid the transition into the renting class was, until the decade embracing 1890 and 1900. In this connection figures of Macon County, Ala., will be used. According to the agricultural census of 1900, the only census in which white and colored renters and share-croppers were taken separately the number of colored renters in Macon County was 2,097. The number of colored share-croppers was 760. The preceding census (1890) shows white and colored renters taken together to be 1,068, and white and colored share croppers together to be 1,113. In 1900 the colored renters had increased nearly half of both white and colored renters for 1890. The colored share croppers of 1900 had decreased over one-third of both white and colored croppers in the same time. The increase of colored renters in 1900 over white and colored renters in 1890 in this one county gives some idea of the rapid change into the renting class.

A quarter of a century ago, one kind of renter was commonly found upon large plantations where wage-hands and share-croppers were employed. He was subject to the same plantation management as other classes upon the plantation. He received the same supervision, plowed, cultivated, harvested, and received advances in the same manner as the share-cropper. When his crops were behind, the landlord employed hands, cleaned out the crop while the renter stood the expenses. The only difference between the renter and the share-cropper was that the renter crops were not divided; and to the renter belonged whatever remained after rent, expenses of farming implements, cleaning out the crops and living were deducted. Under the nominal rent system more renters came out behind than ahead in their crops. In many of the black belt counties of the South, where changes for good in the plantation system occur slowly, this type of renter is found today.

The renter of today is a more independent type. He is responsible to the landlord for the rent of the land only in case he secures "advances" from his landlord. In many cases he sub-rents portions of his rented land receiving an amount little more than sufficient to

pay the landlord's rent. It is often the case that this type of renter owns from three to six mules, some or all of which are mortgaged and through this means of mortgaging his stock he receives "advances."

It is the desire of landlords to rent their land without the risk of giving "advances," or the care of close supervision. In other words, it is as much the desire, and as much to the advantage, of the landlord to get rent or interest on the money involved in land with least trouble, as it is the renter's desire to advance himself, and enjoy the privilege of managing his business affairs. The present trend of renting conditions—conditions which relieve the landlord of responsibilities and which put upon the renter more responsibilities—is in this direction.

Two decades ago the most common way the landlord or merchant secured himself against losses was by taking a lien on crops. The lien entitled the landlord to hold in possession all, or part of a renter's crop until all claims were paid. The lien was made not only upon growing crops, but often upon unplanted crops as well. If through the crop lien, the landlord's claim was not settled in one season it was continued into the next. The old crop lien system with all of its force and meaning has apparently changed in meaning and form in some indescribable ways and since the renter has gradually come into possession of personal property, money is secured for farming by making notes and mortgages upon that property. All these may have some features of the crop lien system, but do not have the name.

The managing ability of the average Negro renter is limited by the three mule farm. His yield and profit per plow decrease as the number of his plows increases. For example, a farmer made twelve bales with one plow; with two plows he made seven bales, and with three plows he made five and one-half bales to the plow. This was barely enough to cover the expense of three plows. Thus this farmer increased his acreage and expense while his knowledge of business and improved methods of farming remained the same.

The rent claims are first settled, and in most cases paid in cotton. The rent paid for a farm of 25 or 30 acres ranges from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 bales of lint cotton. Paying rent in money is quite common in some sections. When money is paid as rent for a farm of one mule it ranges from \$75 to \$100. There are two advantages in the

payment of rent in money: first, the landlord receives a fixed rent for his land regardless of fluctuation in cotton prices; and, secondly, the renter gains in money as long as cotton remains at a good selling price.

This paper has been devoted principally to the discussion of the share-cropper and the renter because these classes have a relation with the soil and the plantation permanent enough to observe changes. It is evident that the daily, weekly, and monthly wage-earners have some influence upon the plantation system which is not discussed here.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES ON THE RACE QUESTION

BY CHARLES HILLMAN BROUGH, Ph.D.,

Professor of Economics and Sociology, University of Arkansas; Chairman,
Commission of Southern Universities on the Race Question.

Unquestionably the problem of the economic, social, hygienic, educational, moral, and civic uplift of the Negro race is at present challenging the best thought of Southern scholars and philanthropists, as perhaps no other problem is.

There are now many agencies in the South trying to find a method of helping the Negro get a larger share of the fruits of his toil and enabling him to live his life more abundantly and more harmoniously with the Southern white man. The first and, perhaps, the most potent of these agencies is the Commission on Southern Race Questions, organized by Dr. James H. Dillard, of New Orleans, president and director of the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, at the First Southern Sociological Congress, which met in Nashville, Tenn., May 7 to 10, 1912. The membership of this commission is as follows: W. S. Sutton, dean and professor of education, University of Texas; James E. Doster, dean of the School of Education, University of Alabama; James M. Parr, vice-president and professor of English, University of Florida; R. H. J. DeLoach, professor of cotton industry, University of Florida; W. O. Scroggs, professor of economics and sociology, University of Louisiana; W. D. Hedleston, professor of ethics and sociology, University of Mississippi; Charles W. Bain, professor of Greek, University of North Carolina; Josiah Morse, professor of philosophy, University of South Carolina; James D. Hoskins, dean and professor of history and economics, University of Tennessee; William M. Hunley, adjunct professor of political science, University of Virginia; Charles Hillman Brough, professor of economics and sociology, University of Arkansas. Dr. Brough is chairman of the commission and Professor Hunley secretary.

At its first meeting at Nashville, Dr. Dillard outlined his purpose in calling such a body of teachers together. He significantly

called attention to the fact that the leadership of state universities in the South is coming to be more and more vital to the interests of the people; that they have been criticised often for apparent indifference to the Negro question, and that not only stimulation, but also actual leadership, was expected of the commission.

After an informal discussion it was decided to hold the next meeting at Athens, Ga., December 19, 1912, when each member was expected to present a plan. Practically all of the members of the commission were in attendance on this meeting, which convened in the library room of the historic and antebellum University of Georgia. Additional value was given to the deliberations of the commission by the presence and active participation of Chancellor Barrow, of the University of Georgia, and Chancellor Kincannon, of the University of Mississippi. The most important business transacted at this meeting was the delegation by the chairman of specific work to special committees, which are to report next December at Richmond, Va. The composition of these committees is as follows:

Education—Sutton, chairman; Farr, Doster.

Economic—DeLoach, chairman; Hoskins, Brough.

Hygiene—Morse, chairman; Hedleston, Bain.

Civic—Scroggs, chairman; Hunley, Sutton.

Religious—Doster, chairman; Hedleston, Morse.

Race Adjustment—Farr, chairman; Bain, Hunley.

Executive—Brough, chairman; Farr, and Hunley, Secretary.

Advisory—Dillard, chairman; Chancellor Barrow, of Georgia, and President Mitchell, South Carolina.

A number of the members of these committees submitted preliminary reports at the second sociological congress, which met in Atlanta, Ga., the latter part of last April. The work already done presages the most scientific and impartial study of the Negro problem, with the ideal of constructive helpfulness, that has yet been attempted.

As one of the results of the organization of this commission a number of students, notably at the University of Virginia and the University of Georgia, began last fall a systematic study of the Negro problem in all its phases. They started under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. Tremendous impetus was given their work by the establishment of the Phelps-Stokes

fellowships at the Universities of Virginia and Georgia. Practically all the Southern universities represented on the commission are offering courses on the Negro question, using such scholarly works as Weatherford's *Negro Life in the South* and Stone's *Studies in the Race Problem* as texts, and these courses in the regular curricula are being supplemented by special Y. M. C. A. courses on various phases of Negro life.

Some idea of the extent of the work undertaken by these students may be had from the report of last year's study at the University of Virginia. This group of students, numbering nearly one hundred, issued a summary of the results of their study, in part as follows:

"1. A realization of the pervasiveness of the problem; that in reality it is not an isolated situation out of touch with the affairs of the South at large, but an intimate, ever-present problem touching the life of the South at every turn, and involving the hygienic, economic, and moral well-being of every citizen of the South.

"2. Not only has the problem been recognized, but much reading has been done and much thought devoted to the subject. More than one hundred volumes were taken from the library by students of this question.

"3. Through lectures, books, and current magazines the men of the group have come in contact with the leading thinkers and workers in the field of sociological endeavor.

"4. A library of more than four hundred volumes has been accumulated and completely catalogued for use, and additions are continually being made.

"5. Actual investigation has been made and a foundation laid for future work of greater scope and value.

"6. Virginia has assumed a leadership in this, the largest problem of Southern life, that has attracted wide attention and excited emulation."

The writer feels that he can best express his ideas as to the activities and opportunities of the commission by reproducing portions of his address before the commission, at its meeting in Athens Ga., last December.

The South is to be congratulated on the fact that she has educational statesmen with far-sighted and philanthropic vision, of the type of Dr. J. H. Dillard, of New Orleans, who has consecrated his

ripe experience and able executive leadership to the social, economic, educational, religious, and civic improvement of the Negro race. Such a leader, who is the inspiration and originator of this commission of professors from representative Southern universities, is worth infinitely more to our nation, to our Southland, and to our sovereign states, than a thousand ranting demagogues.

With such an inspiring force as Dr. Dillard, I feel that this commission could do no better than follow his splendid constructive outline which he has mapped out for our work and, therefore, as chairman of the commission, I invite suggestions in the following subjects:

I. What are the conditions?

- (a) Religious—contributions, excessive denominationalism, lack of the practical in preaching, etc.
- (b) Educational—self-help, Northern contributions, public schools, etc.
- (c) Hygienic—whole question of health and disease.
- (d) Economic—land ownership, business enterprises, abuse of credit system, etc.
- (e) Civic—common carriers, courts of justice, franchise, etc.

Changes and tendencies in the above conditions.

Attitude of the whites.

II. What should and can be done, especially by whites, for improvement?

III. What may be hoped as to future conditions and relations?

With reference to the religious contributions to the betterment of the Negro, it may be said that our churches have been pursuing a "penny-wise and pound-foolish economy." The Presbyterians last year gave an average of three postage stamps per member to the work. The Methodists averaged less than the price of a cheap soda water—just a five-cent one. The Southern Baptist convention has only been asking from its large membership \$15,000 annually for this tremendous work. In view of these conditions, as Southern churchmen we may well echo the passionately eloquent outburst of Dr. W. D. Weatherford, one of the most profound thinkers and virile writers on the Negro question and the leader of the young men of the South in their Y. M. C. A. work, "Do we mean to say by our niggardly gifts that these people are helpless and worthless in the sight of God? Do we mean to say that 1 cent per member

is doing our share in evangelizing the whole race? God pity the Southern Christians, the Southern churches, and the Southern States, if we do not awake to our responsibility in this hour of opportunity."

But the responsibility for deplorable religious conditions among the Negroes is not altogether with the whites. While it is true that the Negro is by nature a religious and emotional animal, while there are approximately 4,500,000 church members among the 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States, and these churches represent property values of nearly \$40,000,000, yet it is also painfully true that excessive denominationalism and ecclesiastical rivalry and dissensions prevent the formation of strong, compact organizations among them and, as a result, there are twice as many church organizations as there should be, congregations are small, and the salaries paid their preachers are not large enough to secure competent men.

In connection with the character of the average Negro preacher, it is interesting to note that in an investigation made by Atlanta University concerning the character of the Negro ministry, of 200 Negro laymen who were asked their opinion of the moral character of Negro preachers, only thirty-seven gave decided answers of approval. Among faults mentioned by these Negro laymen were selfishness, deceptiveness, love of money, sexual impurity, dogmatism, laziness, and ignorance, and to these may be added the fact that preaching is generally of a highly emotional type and is wholly lacking in any practical moral message. At the April meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress, I trust that some one will discuss the necessity of holding up before the Negroes the conception of the Perfect Man of Galilee of unblemished character and spotless purity, who went about doing good, as well as the conception of a Savior of power and a Christ of divinity.

Educationally the Negroes of the South have made remarkable progress. In 1880, of the Negro population above ten years of age, 70 per cent was illiterate. By the end of the next decade, this illiteracy had been reduced to 57.1 per cent, and by the close of the century, it had declined to 44.5 per cent. During the last ten years of the nineteenth century, there was an increase of the Negro population of 1,087,000 in the school age of ten years and over, yet, despite this increase, there was a decrease in illiteracy of 190,000. In 1912, there are over 2,000,000 between the ages of five and eighteen, or 54 per cent of the total number of educable Negro

children, enrolled in the common schools of the former slave states, and the percentage of illiteracy among the Negroes is only 27.5 per cent.

In the state of Arkansas for the year ending June 30, 1912, 109,731 Negro children were enrolled in the common schools out of a total educable Negro population of 175,503, and the percentage of illiteracy among the Negroes was only 26.2 per cent. Besides the Branch Normal at Pine Bluff, maintained by the state at an annual expense of \$15,000, an institution which has graduated 236 Negro men and women in the thirty-eight years of its useful history, and six splendid Negro high schools at Fort Smith, Helena, Hot Springs, Little Rock, and Pine Bluff, there are six denominational high schools and colleges in Arkansas that are giving the Negroes an academic education and practical instruction in manual training, domestic science, practical carpentry, and scientific agriculture. These facts tell the story of praiseworthy sacrifice, frugality, struggle and aspiration.

The amount devoted to Negro education in the South for the forty years, ending with the academic session 1910-11, is approximately \$166,000,000. Of this amount the Negro is beginning to pay a fair proportion, especially in North Carolina and Virginia. But the Southern white people have borne the brunt of the burden, meriting the stately eulogy of the late lamented commissioner of education, William T. Harris, that "the Southern white people in the organization and management of systems of public schools manifest wonderful and remarkable self-sacrifice," and also the tribute of Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, "while Northern benevolence has spent tens of thousands in the South to educate the Negroes, Southern patriotism has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for the same purpose. This has been done voluntarily and without aid from the federal government."

The South as a whole has appreciated the truth of the six axioms in the programme of Negro education so admirably set forth by Dr. W. S. Sutton, of the University of Texas, in a recent bulletin, and she boldly affirms that the highest welfare of the "black child of Providence" committed to her keeping lies not in social or even political equality but in equality of industrial opportunity and educational enlightenment. Therefore, if the dangerous and insidious movement for the segregation of the school funds between

the races in proportion to the amount paid in as taxes is to be checked, the Negro must awake more keenly to the necessity of self-help, realizing that

Self-ease is pain, thy only rest
Is labor for a worthy end;
A toil that gives with what it yields,
And hears, while sowing outward fields,
The harvest song of inward peace.

In the problem of Negro education, the keystone of the arch is the rural school, which has been shamefully neglected. Dr. Dillard, by his wise administration of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, has rendered an invaluable service in the improvement of rural Negro schools, employing at the present time 117 supervisors in 119 Southern counties at an average annual salary of \$301.38 to competent teachers who coöperate with the county examiners and superintendents in the supervision of Negro schools. The question has been raised by Honorable George B. Cook, superintendent of public instruction in Arkansas, as to whether these supervisors and the funds for their employment should not be placed under the immediate control of the state departments of education by Dr. Dillard, and I respectfully submit this as a fruitful subject for discussion by this commission.

Closely allied to the proper solution of the problem of Negro education are the practical questions of better hygienic conditions and housing, the reduction of the fearful mortality rate now devastating the race, and the prevention of disease. At present the death rate of the Negroes is 28 per 1,000, as opposed to 15 per 1,000 for the whites. The chief causes of this excessive death rate among the Negroes seem to be infant mortality, scrofula, venereal troubles, consumption, and intestinal diseases. According to Hoffman, over 50 per cent of the Negro children born in Richmond, Va., die before they are one year old. This is due primarily to sexual immorality, enfeebled constitutions of parents, and infant starvation, all of which can be reduced by teaching the Negroes the elementary laws of health.

The highest medical authorities agree that the Negro has a predisposition to consumption, due to his small chest expansion and the insignificant weight of his lungs (only four ounces), and this

theory seems to be borne out by the fact that the excess of Negro deaths over whites from consumption is 105 per cent in the representative Southern cities. But however strong the influence of heredity it is undeniable that consumption, the hookworm, and fevers of all kinds are caused in a large measure by the miserable housing conditions prevalent among the Negroes. Poor housing, back alleys, no ventilation, poor ventilation, and no sunshine do much to foster disease of all kinds.

Furthermore, people cannot be moral as long as they are herded together like cattle without privacy or decency. If a mother, a father, three grown daughters, and men boarders have to sleep in two small rooms, as is frequently the case, we must expect lack of modesty, promiscuity, illegitimacy and sexual diseases. It is plainly our duty to preach the gospel of hygienic evangelism to our unfortunate "neighbors in black," for the Ciceronian maxim, *Mens sana in corpore sano*, is fundamental in education. Certainly, he who is instrumental in causing the Negro to build two and three-room houses where only a one-room shack stood before and to construct one sleeping porch where none was before deserves more at the hands of his fellowman than the whole race of demagogues put together.

Economic progress has been the handmaid of educational enlightenment in the improvement of the Negro. Indeed, to the Negro the South owes a debt of real gratitude for her rapid agricultural growth, and in no less degree does every true son of the South owe the Negro a debt of gratitude for his unselfishness, his faithfulness, and his devotion to the white people of Dixieland not only during the dark and bloody days of the Civil War but during the trying days of our industrial and political renaissance.

To the Negro, either as an independent owner, tenant, or laborer we partly owe the increase in the number of our farms from 504,000 in 1860 to over 2,000,000 at the present time; the increase in our farm values from \$2,048,000 in 1860 to \$4,500,000 at the present time; the decrease in the size of our farm unit from 321 acres in 1860 to 84 acres at the present time.

In this substantial progress of our glorious Southland, the Negro has had a distinct and commendable share. It has been estimated by workers in the census bureau that in 1890 Negroes were cultivating, either as owners, tenants, or hired laborers, one hundred million acres of land, and at the present time the estimated value

of property owned by Negroes in the United States is \$750,000,000. Of the 214,678 farmers in Arkansas in 1910, 63,593, or almost 30 per cent, are Negroes, and of these Negro farmers, 14,662, or 23 per cent were owners and 48,885, or 77 per cent, were tenants. In the United States as a whole at the period of the last decennial census, there were 2,143,176 Negroes engaged in farming; 1,324,160 in domestic and personal service; 275,149 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 209,154 in trade and transportation, and 47,324 in professional service—a remarkable showing for a race that emerged barely three centuries ago from the night of African darkness and depravity.

However, there are four well defined retarding forces to the fullest economic development of the Negro in the South, and to these evils this commission should give thoughtful and earnest consideration—the tenant system, the one crop system, the abuse of the credit system, and rural isolation. I believe that industrial education, teaching the Negro the lessons of the nobility of toil, the value of thrift and honesty, the advantages attaching to the division of labor and the diversification of industry, and the dangers lurking in the seductive credit system, will prove an effective panacea for these self-evident evils.

Therefore, as a Southern man, born, raised, and educated in the proud commonwealth of Mississippi, I welcome the splendid efforts of such men as Booker T. Washington, of the Tuskegee Institute; Major Morton, of Hampton Institute; Joseph Price, of Livingston College, North Carolina; Charles Banks and Isaiah Montgomery, of Mississippi; and Joseph A. Booker and E. T. Venegar, of Arkansas; in behalf of the industrial education of their race.

As the sons of proud Anglo-Saxon sires, we of the South doubt seriously the wisdom of the enfranchisement of an inferior race. We believe that reconstruction rule was "a reign of ignorance, mongrelism, and depravity," that the Negro is the cheapest voter and the greatest Bourbon in American politics, North and South alike, and that as a political factor he has been a disturbing factor in our civic life. Personally, I believe in the Mississippi educational qualification test for suffrage, sanely administered, with as much ardor as in a literacy test for foreign immigration.

However, "a condition and not a theory confronts us." As an American citizen the Negro is entitled to life, liberty and the pur-

suit of happiness and the equal protection of our laws for the safeguarding of these inalienable rights. The regulation of suffrage in the South, as well as in the North, is and always will be determined by the principle of expediency. But none but the most prejudiced Negro-hater, who often times goes to the extreme of denying that any black man can have a white soul, would controvert the proposition that in the administration of quasi-public utilities and courts of justice, the Negro is entitled to the fair and equal protection of the law. Separate coach laws are wise, but discriminations in service are wrong.

If "law hath her seat in the bosom of God and her voice in the harmony of the world, all things paying obeisance to her, the greatest are not exempt from her power and the least as feeling her protecting care," if

Sovereign law, the state's collected will,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill,

then the meanest Negro on a Southern plantation is entitled to the same consideration in the administration of justice as the proudest scion of a cultured cavalier.

It is, indeed, a travesty on Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence to send a Negro to the penitentiary for a term of eighteen years for selling a gallon of whiskey in violation of law and at the same time allow scores of white murderers to go unpunished, as was recently stated to be a fact by a governor of a Southern state. Even if it be only theoretically true that "all people are created free and equal," and if, as a practical proposition, the Negro is a "Ham-sandwich for the Caucasian race," it is undeniably true that he is entitled to the equal protection of our laws and to the rights safeguarded every American citizen under the beneficent provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

If I may use the eloquent words of the golden-tongued, clear-visioned, and lion-hearted Bishop Charles B. Galloway, "The race problem is no question for small politicians, but for broad-minded patriotic statesmen. It is not for non-resident theorists, but for clear-visioned humanitarians. All our dealings with the Negro should be in the spirit of the Man of Galilee."

The task confronting this commission, composed of Southern white men and representing the universities of the South, is Atlan-

tean in its magnitude, and fraught with tremendous significance. I believe that ours is a noble mission, that of discussing the ways and means of bettering the religious, educational, hygienic, economic, and civic condition of an inferior race. I believe that by protesting against the miscegenation of the races we can recognize the sacredness of the individual white and the individual Negro and do much to preserve that racial integrity recently jeopardized by the Johnson-Cameron misalliance. I believe that by preaching the gospel of industrial education to the whites and Negroes alike we can develop a stronger consciousness of social responsibility. I believe that by the recognition of the fact that in the Negro are to be found the essential elements of human nature, capable of conscious evolution through education and economic and religious betterment, we will be led at last to a conception of a world of unity, whose Author and Finisher is God.

FIFTY YEARS OF FREEDOM: CONDITIONS IN THE SEA COAST REGIONS

BY NIELS CHRISTENSEN,

Editor and Proprietor, *The Beaufort Gazette*, Beaufort, S. C.

The story of the Sea Island Negroes in Beaufort County, S. C., is one of peculiar interest. Here to an unusual extent they predominate in numbers, and, in a greater measure than is usual elsewhere, are land owners. Their inherent tendencies have controlled them to a maximum degree.

For the most part, the rural Negro of the South is massed along the alluvial lands of the coasts and the great rivers. As Dr. Carl Kelsey has pointed out in his admirable study *The Negro Farmer*, the tendency is to segregate. It therefore becomes important to determine the rate of the progress of the race where there is the minimum of influence from his white neighbors.

The progress of any people will be greatest by those groups which are in closest contact with civilizing influences. Industrial conditions and the influence of the white race are perhaps the strongest forces molding the Negro. On the rich land of the sea coast region, and on the alluvial lands of the rivers, industrial conditions are favorable in that there is no limit to the progress the individual farmer can make, no one to say him nay, a world-wide market, a congenial occupation. But here there is little contact with the white. Where, as a tenant farmer of the white land-owner, or as a customer of the white store-keeper, he has the urging of his task-master behind him, or as an independent farmer and land owner, he has the example of a white neighbor, the Negro responds. Where he is left to himself he drags.

The extent of his progress under the last named conditions, this article will in a measure set forth in a study of local conditions in one county, from which general tendencies may be deduced.

CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

In 1860 old Beaufort District had a population of 6,715 whites and 33,339 blacks. In 1870 Hampton and Beaufort Counties were formed from Beaufort District. The last census for these two counties shows 12,969 whites and 42,496 Negroes. While the whites have gained 93 per cent, the increase of the Negroes has been 27½ per cent.

In 1910 there were only eight counties in the country with a larger proportion of Negroes than Beaufort County, the percentage being 86.9 per cent Negro and 13.1 per cent white. Ten years ago it was 90½ per cent black. The last census shows that the Negroes have decreased 18 per cent since 1900 in Beaufort County, the sea coast half of the territory of Beaufort District, while the whites have increased 18.3 per cent.

This Negro population of 26,376 includes only 1,230 mulattoes, or 4.6 per cent as against 16 per cent for the state at large, and 20.9 per cent for the country.

The total population of the county (30,167) is distributed over its 920 square miles at an average of 33 to the mile.

Summarizing, we might say that in this rather thinly settled district, largely occupied by pure blooded Negroes, the race is diminishing by reason of emigration to the cities and the saw mills and turpentine camps, where there is a demand for unskilled labor.

MORALITY

Criminal records

An examination of the records of the criminal courts cannot go back of 1879 as the dockets before that date are missing. I have therefore, compared the records for the years 1879, 1880 and 1881 with those of 1910, 1911 and 1912. The first records do not designate white and black law-breakers and the figures are totals. However, a careful examination of the names indicates very few, if any, whites brought to trial. The records for the latter period are for Negroes only. There were only four or five whites tried during this last period: The total number of cases brought to trial and the total convictions for the two periods are given. The first period shows 164 cases, and 61 convictions, and the latter shows 65 cases and 49 convictions.

In the first instance only 37.2 per cent of those tried were convicted, and in the second 75.3 per cent. This condition may be accounted for by the fact that in the earlier period the county machinery was largely in the hands of Negroes, and the percentage of Negroes on the juries was considerable. White juries are not so lenient.

The record may be classified as follows:

	1879-1881	1910-1912
Crimes against the person.....	62	27
Crimes against property.....	78	31
Other crimes.....	24	7
Total.....	164	65

Of the 62 cases, 11 were for murder, 13 for assault and battery, 17 assault with intent to kill, 12 riot and assault, 8 assault with intent to rape. The latter two crimes do not appear at all among the cases of 1910-1912. The intent to rape were committed against their own race, while the riots were disturbances among church congregations. There has been no attempt by a Negro to commit rape upon a white woman, except in one instance where both parties were non-residents and in the county for only a few hours at a railroad junction.

Of the 78 cases, 18 were for grand larceny, 24 for petit larceny, 21 for house-breaking, 6 for trespass, 5 for breach of trust.

In a population of more than 26,000 Negroes only one quarter of 1 per cent are indicted each year in the circuit court.

Most of the crimes of violence may be traced to whiskey as an aggravating factor.

The Church Records

The amount of support given his church may not be a certain indication of the Negro's advance in morality, but it certainly is worth consideration.

Freedom found him with a considerable church membership, and he fell heir to some church property which had belonged to his masters. But the records which show the financial condition of the several congregations for this county indicate pretty accurately his accumulations since slavery.

In the "low country" the Baptist church has the largest following. The Methodist comes next in importance, and there are enough Presbyterians in the town of Beaufort to own a church. Of other denominations there is little heard among the Negroes here.

From the church organizations of Beaufort County statements have been secured for the purpose of this review and compilation made. This recapitulation is not accurate, but is approximately correct.

We find 68 churches, with 10,339 members, cared for by 38 pastors. The church property is valued at \$91,625 and the annual funds collected for all church purposes are \$17,967.19.

The average, then, would be a church of 152 members served by a pastor giving a little over half his time to this particular charge. The property would be worth \$1,494 and the annual contribution \$264.

Viewing it from another angle, we see that there is a church member for every 2.55 of the total Negro population of 26,376, and that the annual subscription amounts to 68 cents for each one of the said total population of the county.

Reviewing these figures it may be concluded that the percentage of criminals is small and diminishing, and that the church is well supported. It may be added that the leading ministers are usually men of force, character and education and that the influence of the church is far greater than that of the public school. The minister is the natural leader. The standard of sexual morality in the rural districts is low, and while drunkenness is not at all common, the "county dispensaries" sell annually \$150,000 worth of whiskey, most of which is bought by Negroes.

LITERACY

The school attendance for the Negro for Beaufort County between the ages of six and fourteen is 49.4 per cent, as against 56 per cent for South Carolina and 59.7 per cent for the country at large.

Of the race ten years of age and over in this county, 43 per cent are illiterate, with which we may compare 38.7 per cent for the state and 30.4 per cent for the country. But the rate of decrease in illiteracy in Beaufort County between 1900 and 1910 was 29.68

per cent, while that for the country was 31.6 per cent and for the state 26.7 per cent.

This county has an unusually large revenue for school purposes, derived in considerable measure from profits of the liquor business which it manages as a monopoly. The amount of expenditure per black pupil is \$3.08 per annum as against \$1.98 for the state at large; the average salary per colored teacher is \$148.96, and for the state \$113.72. The county school session is 16.1 weeks, and the state's 13.8. Moreover there are now three private schools maintained principally by Northern contributors, and in the past decades there were more. In the county there are on an average, 56 pupils to each teacher, and 64 in the state. The average number of pupils in each school is 56, and in the state 64. The excess in number of illiterates, therefore, is not due to lack of opportunity.

Need of the stimulus of white example shows itself particularly in the conditions as to illiteracy. With greater educational opportunities the coast Negroes have accomplished less in fifty years than their race in the up-state counties, though the response in the last decade has been marked, and greater than in the state at large.

INDUSTRY

The economic advance of the Negro during his fifty years of freedom may be best determined by discovering what he possesses today. It would be difficult to fix, even approximately, the value of his annual earnings in this one county. He came out of freedom without property and with this as a starting point we may discover certain facts.

An attempt has been made, however, to compare the cotton crop of 1860 with that of the present day in this section, but without very satisfactory results as to accuracy. The census shows that where the old Beaufort District raised 190.95 pounds per inhabitant, the same territory in the last four years raised an average of 260.47 pounds. In Beaufort County, where a large part of the crop is raised by Negroes, the crop for the last named period averaged 162 pounds.

It is generally held among the merchants who "carry" these Negro farmers that they are not maintaining the grade of their long staple cotton nor making as large yields as formerly. This may in

part be attributed to the fact that the prices for the staple have not increased in proportion to the cost of living. The stagnation in the market of their principal crop results in the dwindling population noted.

The falling off in cotton raising is also attributed to the fast disappearing number of slavery-trained Negroes. No universal industrial training has been substituted for the new generation. The industrial schools are not numerous enough to have marked effect on large areas, and only in the past decade have they been industrial in more than name.

A cash-paying Negro farmer is an exception. Twelve months' credit is the rule, and a natural result of a one-crop system.

TAX BOOK FIGURES

A study of the present property holdings of the Negroes in the four blackest townships of the county may be interesting. They have a population of 21,910, including the 3,000 credited to the towns of Port Royal and Beaufort. Outside of these towns the white population is negligible; in one township with over 7,000 Negroes, there are not 100 whites. The figures for real and personal property are taken from the books of the county auditor. As whites and blacks are not designated on these records, it was necessary to secure the assistance of the present auditor and of one who served

FOUR TOWNSHIPS

	1876			1912		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
No. of taxpayers.....	341	2,937	3,278	662	7,024	7,686
No. of buildings.....	501	406	907	1,116	2,663	3,779
No. of acres.....	98,369½	62,195½	160,565	134,384	50,913	185,297
No. of town lots.....	129	367	496	1,573	885	2,458
Average acre per taxpayer.....	288.4	25.9	200	7
Value personalty.....	\$237,609	\$250,402	\$488,011	\$407,590	\$274,735	\$682,125
Value realty.....	\$608,120	\$361,253	\$969,373	\$948,250	\$643,400	\$1,591,650
Total value.....	\$845,729	\$611,655	\$1,457,384	\$1,355,840	\$918,135	\$2,273,775

many years ago. These gentlemen indicated the white tax payers on the books and on this data the following study is based. The statement of the bank holdings is estimated by the bank authorities, and the church property is given from figures supplied by the church organizations before referred to.

The figures for 1876 and 1912 were taken to show the relative progress.

In the late sixties between 20,000 and 25,000 acres were sold to the Negroes of two of these townships for a nominal price by the federal direct tax commissioners. The latter acquisitions have been on the open market.

1. Previous to 1876 the county and state governments were in the hands of Negroes and exploiters and were much demoralized. In the years since, the acres returned in the given townships have been steadily increased.

2. Thirty-six years ago the Negro holdings were in the hands of heads of families that have since been divided among heirs. Hence the decrease in the size of per capita holdings.

3. The realty is returned for assessment at about one-third its value and the personalty at about 60 per cent.

It will be seen that though the number of buildings returned by the blacks has increased over sixfold, and though more than double the number of individuals are paying taxes on an assessed value 50 per cent greater than in 1876, yet the land returned has diminished. Over 11,000 acres have slipped away in thirty-six years. At the same time they have increased their ownership of town lots from 367 to 885.

PRESENT HOLDINGS

Realty (market value).....	\$1,930,200
Personalty (market value).....	384,629
Savings in banks.....	40,000
Church property.....	83,125
Total.....	\$2,437,954

The per capita worth of each Negro enumerated in these townships in the last census, would be over \$120.

It is significant that of the total realty and personalty (\$2,314,829), more than one half, or \$1,434,321.80, was secured in the first ten years of freedom.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

The steady improvement in dress and hygiene is noticeable. In this part of the South where the dividing line between the races in matters social and political is strongly marked, there is little friction. The Negro brought from slavery a genuine deference to the white race, that showed itself in "good manners." Today much of this spirit remains.

THE FUTURE

The inertia of the race where left to itself, impresses those who live among them and study the progress of this people. It is often remarked that the sea food of the coast makes existence too simple a matter. The temptation is to "live in the creek," where the fish, crab, oyster and terrapin afford an abundance of food supply and the source of a small money revenue. But little fuel or clothing is necessary. The climate affects all with lassitude. Why toil and slave where airs are balmy, skies clear, all nature languorous, and man's necessities few? What does "freedom" mean if not emancipation from arduous labor? One sometimes wonders that there is any advance.

Yet there is progress. The story of the development of truck farming is one of patient industry rewarded now by large returns. Around Norfolk, Charleston and at several points in Florida the success of market gardeners has been one of the significant industrial developments of the coast region for the half century. In Beaufort County capital has been accumulated, icing, transportation, and other marketing facilities built up, and lands developed to the point where the truck crop is as important as the cotton crop. Farmers have netted over \$1,000 an acre for lettuce, and this season one potato grower has twenty times that amount as the profit of his whole crop. The advanced methods, with accompanying improved machinery, introduced by these men, most of them natives, are making over agricultural conditions.

As yet the Negro's part in this new agricultural life is principally that of the day laborer. A considerable number are raising truck successfully in a small way, but it takes capital, intelligence, and experience to succeed, and no great increase in the number of Negro truck farmers are looked for in the immediate future. Mean-

while he is learning the value of intensive farming which the rice and cotton fields of the great plantations did not teach him.

The enterprise with which this new agricultural life is infusing the coast regions is felt in all occupations, and, as skilled artisan and day laborer, the Negro is part of most of them. His industrial life is inextricably bound up with the industrial life of this territory where he is so large a part of the population. Every movement affects him.

No man can foresee the direction agricultural development here will take. Once indigo was raised and exported from this town in locally built ships, rice came, and by improving the grade the name of Carolina was made known around the world. A fine fiber of cotton established the reputation of the Sea Islands in every factory where the best cotton goods are made. Today indigo has disappeared, rice has all but gone, the long staple cotton business is not thriving, but the wealth of the great eastern cities is paying our farmers fancy prices for lettuce in winter, potatoes in the spring and other vegetables out of their seasons.

Other unforeseen economic conditions may come to leaven the mass. Phosphate mining played a part here for two decades and then passed on to Florida and other sections, and the oyster canneries of this and the gulf coast now employ Negro gatherers and shuckers. Climatic and other conditions make these Sea Islands an ideal winter recreation ground for the nation, and the future will doubtless see them so used. Plan as we may, theorize with ever so much seeming wisdom, in the fulness of time some great economic change comes, sweeping all before it, forming new barriers, destroying old ones, cutting new channels. But in all human probability the possibilities of the years to come lie in agriculture, and with more white farmers to lead in the development of these lands, the coast regions will advance with rapid strides.

It is probable that long before the vast uncultivated areas of the South have become occupied, the Negro will have firmly established himself in all the black districts, as he has here, as a land owning farmer. Surrounded by an ambitious, progressive and enlightened people, his rate of progress will be accelerated.

THE WHITE MAN'S DEBT TO THE NEGRO

By L. H. HAMMOND,

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We hear the phrase with increasing frequency—"the white man's debt to the Negro;" but there is no debt white people owe to Negroes on the ground of race. As a descendant of slave-owners, a long-time friend of the Negro, and a lover of my own people, Southern problems are for me both an inheritance and an environment; and I believe both the North and the South have obscured and magnified the task of Negro uplift by continually talking and thinking about it in terms of race. If we would see life sanely, we must see it whole. No race can be understood when regarded as a detached, and consequently anomalous, fragment, cut off from its wide human relations. Races are human first and racial afterwards. Differences go deep, and abide; but likenesses go deeper yet: the most radical evolutionist and the most ultra-orthodox Christian must agree on that point.

There are just two things in the so-called Negro problem which are really questions of race. One of them is the desire of the better classes of both races to keep whites and blacks racially, and therefore socially, distinct. This is expensive, especially in the matter of separate public schools; but no wise man, in either race, objects to that. In such a case, however, both justice and statesmanship require that school provision be made, not according to a man's ability to support the schools but according to the children's needs. This standard is far from being attained in the South, or in many other sections; yet our best men see its wisdom, and we do move toward it, though slowly and haltingly.

The other purely racial ingredient of the "Negro" problem is prejudice; and it is not confined to either race. Yet after all, though racial and local in its manifestations, as race prejudice must always be, it is as wide as humanity and as old as time. It cannot be charged upon the South alone, nor are its manifestations in the South, in any respect, peculiar to Southern whites or Southern blacks;

they are peculiar to that stage of intellectual and moral growth which those manifesting the prejudice have attained. And, knowing this, one may regard it, not without sorrow, but without bitterness, and with hope. It is a stage of life, and it will pass.

With these two exceptions all that we white Americans, North and South, have so long known as the Negro problem is not Negro nor racial, but human; and the sooner we all recognize this fact the sooner our sectional and racial prejudices and animosities will give place to mutual sympathy and coöperation. There can be, in the nature of things, no successful sectional appeal between North and South, nor successful racial appeal from black to white, or *vice versa*; a successful appeal must be made from a common standing-ground, and that we find, not in our differences, but in our common humanity.

Our Negro problem is, with the exceptions noted, our fragment of the world-problem of the privileged and the unprivileged, of the strong and the weak, dwelling side by side. It is human, and economic. We say, here in the South, that the mass of the Negroes are thriftless and unreliable; that their homes are a menace to the health of the community; and that they largely furnish our supply of criminals and paupers. And most of us believe that all this is the natural result, not of the Negro's economic status, but of the Negro's being Negro.

There is truth in the indictment; yet it is by no means so largely true as many of us believe. Take a single instance: the census of 1910 shows the value of Negro-owned farm lands in the South to be \$272,922,238, a gain of over 150 per cent for the decade. The same decade shows a decrease in Negro illiteracy from 48.1 per cent in 1900 to 33.4 per cent in 1910. These figures prove that the race is advancing rapidly, no matter how much ignorance, incompetence and criminality remain for future elimination. They also prove, lynching and other barbarities to the contrary notwithstanding, that Southern whites, as a whole, are not as bad neighbors for Southern blacks as some of our Northern brethren fear.

A main reason for disregarding, in our estimates of Negro life, the extraordinary progress of a large and growing section of the race, and for our fixing our attention almost entirely upon its less desirable members is that the latter are the Negroes most prominent in our own lives. As the Negro gains in culture, in efficiency, in

his struggle for a competence, he withdraws into a world of his own, a world which lies all about us white folk, yet whose existence we rarely suspect. The inefficients of the race, the handicapped, the unambitious, the physically and morally degenerate—all these remain in that economic morass which we regard as purely racial; and from them we draw the bulk of our supply of unskilled laborers and servants. From this class, too, we fill our jails; and to many of us it is all the class there is. As fast as a man rises out of it he disappears from our field of vision.

I have been impressed increasingly by these facts since my husband and I have laid aside other things and come to live at a school for the higher education of Negroes. In our many previous years of effort to aid the race we had become aware of this withdrawn world, of course; but it remained remote, intangible, save for brief, bewildering glimpses. It is not yet an open world; but since we have taken this public and decisive stand of sympathy we pass the threshold, and come upon that deeper life which aspires in the breasts of those who carry in their own hearts the sorrows and burdens of a race. One must be struck with a sense of the sacrificial instinct of this class. It is with Negroes as with other races: under pressure of misfortune or of calamity a race or a nation, like an individual, sinks down to the sources of life, and rises to wider vision; brotherhood becomes real to them. The Negro who has risen to higher intellectual and industrial levels and who does not realize his debt of service to the less fortunate of his race is rather the exception than the rule.

But the mass of the Negroes are still in the economic morass; and we of the South do not yet realize that conditions such as it furnishes produce exactly the same results in men of all races, the world around. In a population racially heterogeneous, like that of New York or Chicago, or in one racially homogeneous like that of London or Rome, or in a bi-racial population like our own, the people who live on the edge of want, or over it, furnish nearly the whole of the world's criminal supply. Insufficient food, housing conditions incompatible with health or decency, a childhood spent unprotected in the streets—these things produce, not in this race or that, but in humanity, certain definite results: ill-nourished bodies, vacant and vicious minds, a craving for stimulants, lack of energy, weak wills, unreliability in every relation of life. French slums

breed French folks like that, Chinese slums breed such Chinamen, English slums Englishmen of the same kind, and Negro slums such Negroes.

When we see this, approaching our "Negro" problem by world-paths, grasping it in its world-relations, we will begin to do what the privileged classes are learning to do elsewhere—to widen the bounds of justice, to open the door of opportunity for all, to give our slum-dwellers a living, human chance.

It is not for a moment claimed that when they have a human chance slum dwellers of many races and of diverse inheritances will be all of one pattern. It is only in the depths of undevelopment that differences disappear. In the lowest forms of life even animal and vegetable seem one; but as life develops it differentiates. Slum-dwellers, when the way of growth is opened for them, come true to type, and will render each their own racial service to the human brotherhood.

Here in the South, as elsewhere, the stability of civilization is to be measured by the condition of the masses of our working people. Men of all nations have been prone to think that enduring national strength can be built up on rottenness; that national and industrial life can be broad-based and firm though it rest on injustice to the poor and the despised, on ignorance, immorality, inefficiency, disease; that the great huddled mass of workers can be safely exploited and then ignored; that a people may defy the fundamental law of human life and prosper. So, from the beginning, have nations fallen; until, at last, men began to learn. In the old world and in the new we are moving slowly, along much-lauded paths of science, to that ignored simplicity of Jesus Christ, whose word of human brotherhood we have forgotten.

Here in the South we are moving too. Some of our best are turning to serve our neediest. In Louisville, Ky., is a man, the son of an Alabama banker, a man of substance and family, who is conducting settlement work for Negroes, serving them in the same ways that other college-bred men and women serve folk of other races in the same economic class elsewhere. One of the International Y. M. C. A. secretaries, a Southern man, has enrolled six thousand young men in our Southern colleges to study the white man's debt to the Negro; and another Southern secretary is following up the work by organizing these young men for social

service among Negroes. The Southern University Commission on the Negro, an outgrowth of the first Southern Sociological Congress, held a year ago, is composed of men both young and old from every Southern state university, who are agreed as to the duty of the favored race to secure justice and opportunity for the backward one. The Woman's Missionary Council of the Southern Methodist Church, an organization representing over two hundred thousand of our white women, recently adopted a plan for coöperation between their own local societies, some four thousand in number, and the better class of Negroes, for the uplift of the poorer classes, locally, throughout the South. Through their secretary for Negro work efforts in this direction are already being made at several points. The Southern Baptists have still more recently decided to open a theological seminary for Negro preachers. It is to be in connection with their seminary for white preachers, and the same man, one of their most honored leaders, is to be the head of both institutions. The Southern Presbyterians have long had a theological seminary for Negroes, where Southern white college men have taught their darker brothers. In South Carolina white members of the Episcopal church, both men and women, are giving their personal service to the Negroes. The Southern Methodists have for thirty years maintained a school for the higher education of the race where college-bred Southern white men and women have taught from the beginning. The Southern Educational Association has been on record for several years as favoring the teaching of Negro normal students by Southern whites; and the work of a man like the Virginia state superintendent of Negro rural schools is something for both races to be thankful for. Southern club women, too, in more than one state, are showing both by word and deed a spirit of sympathy with the Negro life in their midst. Among the many encouraging and inspiring utterances by both whites and blacks at the recent meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress in Atlanta no single speech summed up the race situation as did that of a young Negro on the closing night.

"I have always known," he said, "that the old Southern white man understood and trusted the old Negro, and that the old Negro understood and trusted the old Southern white man; but before this congress I never dreamed that the young Southern white man and the young Negro could ever understand or trust one another; and

now I know they can; and that shoulder to shoulder, each in his own place, they can work out together the good of their common country."

In all the congress, no speech won from the white people heartier applause than this. But the white men who spoke, college professors, lawyers, business men, preachers, had their audience with them also, as they called for justice and brotherhood and service in the spirit of Christ.

The millennium is probably far to seek; but vision is coming to our leaders—a vision of human oneness under all racial separateness, of human service fitted to human need. And as the leaders are, the people will be. When even one man sees truth its ultimate triumph is always assured. Whatever may happen in between, the final issue is inevitable.

The educational needs of the Negroes are great. The mass of them, like the mass of every race, must always work with their hands, doing what we call the drudgery of life. They need to learn, as we all do, that drudgery is not in work, but in the worker's habit of mind. We need, not merely in the South, but in America, to approach the German standard in regard to industrial training for the rich and the poor of all races. As we grow more rational ourselves the Negroes will catch the infection, as they have caught from white folk, North and South, an irrational scorn of "common" work. Our public and private schools, especially our normal schools, for both races, need large development in industrial training. We are awaking to this fact, particularly in regard to our white schools; and as they progress along broader lines progress in schools for Negroes will be easier.

The only absolutely untouched need of the Negro, and it is a need most fundamental, most disastrous in its long neglect, is the need for decent, healthful houses for the poorer classes. We are just developing a social consciousness in the South, and it is naturally first aroused by the needs of the poor whites. We know little, as yet, of slum populations elsewhere, and we think of the Negro slum-dweller as a separate fragment of life, unrelated, a law unto himself, creating his slum as a spider spins his web, from within. We build him shacks and charge heavy rents, as landlords of this economic class do the world around. Cheap as the shelter furnished is, it deteriorates so rapidly, through neglect and misuse, that the

owners of such property, the world over, declare that the high rentals are necessary to save them from actual loss.

We need an experiment-station in Negro housing in the South. Fifty thousand dollars would buy a city block of six acres, and put on four of them eighty well-lighted, three-roomed houses, with water and a toilet in each, and with a tiny garden-spot. Two acres would furnish a playground for the children, otherwise doomed to ruin in the city streets; and there would be money enough left to put up a settlement house providing for a kindergarten, free baths, boys' clubs, industrial classes, a place of recreation for young people whose only present refuge is a low dance-hall or a saloon. At two dollars per room per month, the price paid in my own town by people of this class for houses which are a menace to the whole community, the income from such an investment would pay the salary of a social worker, who would collect the rent on the Octavia Hill plan, and would yet yield 10 per cent gross on the investment, in dollars and cents. In character-building, in the cutting off of our pauper and criminal supply, in convincing our white people that the slum breeds the Negro we find in the slum, the return on the investment would be incalculable.

An experiment like this, worked out to success and advertised through the South, would awaken the interest and win the approval of very many Southern business men who deplore the Negro slum but see no hope of abolishing it. Money would be invested in decent homes for this class as soon as white men saw it could be done without financial loss. Such an experiment station would do more than any other one thing I know of to help the Negroes who most need help; but the money for this initial enterprise will have to come from beyond the South, where these methods have already been successfully tried. That it will come I firmly believe. When things ought to be done they get done, somehow; and this fundamental need is to be met.

NEGRO CRIMINALITY IN THE SOUTH

BY MONROE N. WORK,

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Prior to the Civil War there was not, in the South, the problem of Negro crime such as now exists. Although at that time each of the slave states had elaborate and severe laws for dealing with Negro criminals, they were, in proportion to the total number of Negroes, comparatively few. Immediately following emancipation, however, their numbers increased. This was inevitable; for many of the restraints that had been about the slaves were suddenly removed and much of the machinery for state and local government had broken down. As a result there was confusion and disorder. Many of the slaves left the plantations. There was the beginning of the migration from section to section from the rural districts to the cities and from the South to the North. Under all these circumstances it was not surprising that there should be an increase in Negro crime. The wonder is that there was not more confusion, disorder and rapine. The great majority of the freedmen did not attempt to be lawless. They exercised the same restraint that they had exercised during the four years that their masters had been away on the field of battle. But to some of the newly enfranchised, freedom meant the license to do what they pleased. It was from this class that the majority of the criminals came.

As an example of the increase in the number of Negro criminals, we will take the state of Georgia. In 1858, there were confined in the Georgia penitentiary 183 prisoners, all of whom were apparently white. Twelve years later, in 1870, there were 393 prisoners in this penitentiary, of whom 59 were white and 334 colored.

According to the United States census, the total number of Negroes confined in Southern prisons in 1870 was 6,031; ten years later, the number, 12,973, had more than doubled; twenty years later, the number, 19,244, was three times as great; thirty-four years later, however, that is in 1904, the number of Negroes confined in Southern prisons was 18,550. This would appear to indicate that,

so far as prison population is an index, Negro criminality in the South in recent years has not increased. It is probable that there is some decrease, for a study of criminal statistics of cities North and South, indicates that between 1890 and 1904 Negro criminality, which up to this time had seemed to be steadily increasing, reached its highest point and began to decrease. It appears that the decrease began about 1894-1895.

The number of prisoners per 100,000 of Negro population also appears to bear out this conclusion. It also shows that there is a much higher rate of crime among Negroes in the North than in the South. This is to a large extent due to the fact that seven-tenths of the Negroes in the North, as against one-tenth in the South, live in cities and are of an age when persons have the greatest tendency to crime.

In the following table the number of Negro prisoners in Northern and Southern states is compared.

NEGRO PRISONERS

Year	Northern States	Southern States
1870	2,025	6,031
1880	3,774	12,973
1890	5,635	19,244
1904	7,527	18,550

PRISONERS PER 100,000 OF NEGRO POPULATION

Year	Northern States	Southern States
1870	372	136
1880	515	221
1890	773	284
1904	765	220

It is significant that the number of lynchings reached its highest point about the same period that Negro crime reached its highest point. From 1882 to 1892 the number of persons lynched annually in the United States increased from 114 to 255. From that time on the number decreased. In 1912, there were 64 lynchings in the United States. The total number of lynchings during the thirty years from 1882 to 1912 were 4,021. Of this number, 1,231 were whites and 2,790 were Negroes. The average per year for Negroes was 93, for whites, 41. From 80 to 90 per cent of the lynchings are in the

South. Less than one-fourth of the lynchings of Negroes is due to assaults upon women; in 1912 only one-fifth was for this cause. The largest per cent of lynchings is for murder or attempted murder. Over 10 per cent is for minor offenses.

It is of still greater interest to compare the commitments for rape. In 1904, the commitments for this crime per 100,000 of the total population were: all whites, 0.6; colored, 1.8; Italians, 5.3; Mexicans, 4.8; Austrians, 3.2; Hungarians, 2.0; French, 1.9; Russians, 1.9. Of those committed to prison for major offenses in 1904 the per cent committed for rape was, for colored, 1.9; all whites, 2.3; foreign white, 2.6; Irish, 1.3; Germans, 1.8; Poles, 2.1; Mexicans, 2.7; Canadians, 3; Russians, 3; French, 3.1; Austrians, 4.2; Italians, 4.4; Hungarians, 4.7. The commitments for assaults upon women are low in the Southern States. In the south Atlantic division the rate per 100,000 of the population in 1904, was 0.5; in the south central division it was 0.7. Some would suppose that the low rate of commitments for rape in the South is due to the fact that the most of the perpetrators of these crimes are summarily lynched; but if, however, all the Negroes who were lynched for rape in the South were included, the rate for colored would be changed less than one-fourth of 1 per cent.

The report of the immigration commission in 1911 on *Immigration and Crime* gives the following concerning the per cent that rape forms of all offenses by Negroes and whites: of convictions in the New York City court of general sessions for nine months of 1908-1909, Negro, 0.5; foreign white, 1.8; native white, 0.8. Chicago police arrests from 1905-1908, Negro, 0.34; foreign white, 0.35; native white, 0.30; of alien white prisoners, 1908, in the United States, 2.9.

Both North and South the crime rate for Negroes is much higher than it is for whites. In 1904 the commitments per 100,000, in the entire country, were, for whites, 187; for Negroes, 268. In the Southern States, Negro crime compared with white is in the ratio of $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. On the other hand it is interesting to find that the Negro has a relatively lower crime rate than several of the emigrant races who are now coming to this country. The following table shows the commitments to prison, in 1904, per 1,000, of certain nationalities:

Nationality	Number in United States according to census 1900	Prison commitments in 1904	Commitments per 1,000 of each nationality
Mexicans.....	103,410	484	4.7
Italians.....	484,207	2,143	4.4
Austrians.....	276,249	1,006	3.6
French.....	104,341	358	3.4
Canadians.....	1,181,255	3,557	3.0
Russians.....	424,096	1,222	2.8
Poles.....	383,510	1,038	2.7
Negroes.....	8,840,789	23,698	2.7

As a result of emancipation and the increase in Negro crime, great changes were brought about in the prison systems of the South. Before the war the states of the South operated their prisons on state account and they were generally a burden on the states. After the close of the war the states found themselves with an increasing prison population and no resources from which to make appropriations for the support of these prisons. Throughout the South there was great demand for labor. Inside the prisons were thousands of able-bodied Negroes. Offers were made to the states by those needing labor to lease these prisoners, and so it was discovered that what had been an expense could be converted into a means of revenue and furnish a source from which the depleted state treasuries could be replenished. Thus it came about that all the Southern state prisons were either by the military governments or by the reconstruction governments, put upon lease.

The introduction of the convict lease system into the prisons of the South, thereby enabling the convicts to become a source of revenue, caused each state to have a financial interest in increasing the number of convicts. It was inevitable, therefore, that many abuses should arise. In his report for 1870, less than a year after the Georgia lease had been effected, the principal keeper of the penitentiary complained about the treatment of the convicts by the lessees. An investigation in 1875 of the Texas system revealed a most horrible condition of affairs. From time to time in other states there were attacks on the systems and legislative investigations. The better conscience of the South demanded reform in the treatment of criminals for it was found that "the convict lease system had made the condition of the convict infinitely worse than

was possible under a system of slavery in which the slave belonged to his master for life." In recent years there has been much improvement in the condition of convicts in the South. Five states, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Oklahoma and Texas have abolished the lease, contract, and other hiring systems. All the other Southern states still sell convict labor to some extent, but in each of these strong movements are on foot to abolish the custom.

After the close of the war and as a part of the reconstruction of the South there had to be some readjustment of court procedure with reference to Negroes. Hitherto they had been dealt with as slaves or as free persons of color. After the adoption of the war amendments, they came before the courts as full citizens of the United States. From now on, much of the time, in many sections, the major part of the time of the criminal courts has been taken up with trying cases where Negroes were concerned.

Before emancipation the Negro had noted that wherever the law had been invoked with reference to a Negro that it was generally to punish or to restrain. Thus he came to view the law as something to be feared and evaded but not necessarily to be respected or to be sought as a means of protection. Under freedom the Negro's experience with the law was much the same as it had been in slavery. He found that the courts were still used as a means of punishment and restraint and that generally they were not the place to seek for protection. Another cause of the Negroes regarding the courts unfavorably was the stringent laws relating to labor contracts. These laws imposed severe penalties upon the laborer who violated his contract and often reduced him to peonage. The result is that at present the attitude of the Negroes toward the law is that many still associate laws with slavery and look upon courts as places where punishment is meted out rather than where justice is dispensed.

This brings us to the question whether the Negroes are fairly tried in the courts. Judge W. H. Thomas, of Montgomery, Ala., after an experience of ten years as a trial judge, in an address before the Southern Sociological Congress, at Nashville, in 1912, said:

My observation has been that courts try the Negro fairly. I have observed that juries have not hesitated to acquit the Negro when the evidence showed his innocence. Yet, honesty demands that I say that justice too often miscarries in the attempt to enforce the criminal law against the native

white man. It is not that the Negro fails to get justice before the courts in the trial of the specific indictment against him, but too often it is that the native white man escapes it. It must be poor consolation to the foreign-born, the Indian, the Negro and the ignorant generally to learn that the law has punished only the guilty of their class or race, and to see that the guilty of the class, fortunate by reason of wealth, learning or color, are not so punished for like crime. There must be a full realization of the fact that if punishments of the law are not imposed on all offenders alike, it will breed distrust of administration.

Hon. William H. Sanford, also of Montgomery, Ala., in an address before the same congress on "Fundamental Inequalities of Administration Of Laws," further illuminated this question. He pointed out that the real population of the South is made up of three distinctive communities:

First where the population is composed largely of Negroes, sometimes in the ratio of as many as ten to one. Second, where the population is largely white, usually at a ratio of about two to one. Third, where the population is almost entirely white.

In the first of these, in the administration of the criminal law, the Negro usually gets even and exacts justice, sometimes tempered with mercy. The average white man who serves on the juries in these counties, in his cooler moments and untouched by racial influences, is a believer in fair play, and for the most part is the descendant of the men who builded the foundation of our states. But in these communities, a white man rarely, if ever, gets a fair and an impartial trial, and, if indeed he is indicted by a grand jury, his conviction or acquittal is determined more upon his family connections, his business standing or his local political influence than upon the evidence in the case as applied to the law.

In the second of these communities the law is more nearly enforced as to both classes, and except in cases where the rights of the one are opposed to those of the other, convictions may be had, and indeed are often had, against the members of both races for offenses of the more serious nature.

In the third of these communities the white man usually gets a fair trial and is usually acquitted or convicted according to the evidence under the law, while the Negro, the member of an opposite race, has scant consideration before a jury composed entirely of white men, and is given the severest punishments for the most trivial offenses.

In conclusion what are some of the principal factors of Negro criminality in the South? The convict lease system has already been indicated as one of these factors. Another factor is the imposing of severe and sometimes unjust sentences for misdemeanors, petty offenses and for vagrancy. Still another factor is the lack of

facilities to properly care for Negro juvenile offenders. Ignorance is, by some, reckoned as one of the chief causes of Negro crime. The majority of the serious offenses, such as homicide and rape, are committed by the ignorant. It appears to be pretty generally agreed that one of the chief causes of Negro crime in the South is strong drink. Attention was called to this fact by the great falling off in crime in those sections of the South where the prohibition law was put into effect. The general testimony is that where prohibition has really prohibited the Negro from securing liquor, the crime rate has decreased; where, however, the prohibition law has not prevented the Negro from securing liquor, there has been no decrease in the crime rate, but, instead, the introduction of a cheaper grade of liquor peddled about in the city and in the country districts, appears to have tended to increase crime.

One of the most significant and hopeful signs for the satisfactory solution of the race problem in the South is the attitude that is being taken towards Negro crime. The Negroes themselves are trying to get at the sources of crime and are making efforts to bring about better conditions. In some sections they have law and order leagues working in coöperation with the officers of the law. The white people are also giving serious consideration to Negro crime. Its sources, causes and effects upon the social life of the South are being studied. Movements are on foot for bettering conditions. Under the leadership of the late ex-Governor W. J. Northern, of Georgia, Christian civic leagues, composed of colored and white persons, were organized in that and other states for the purpose of putting down mob violence. The Southern Sociological Congress is taking the lead for the abolition of the convict lease and contract systems and for the adoption, in the South, of modern principles of prison reform.

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE NEGRO IN PHILADELPHIA

BY JOHN T. EMLÉN.

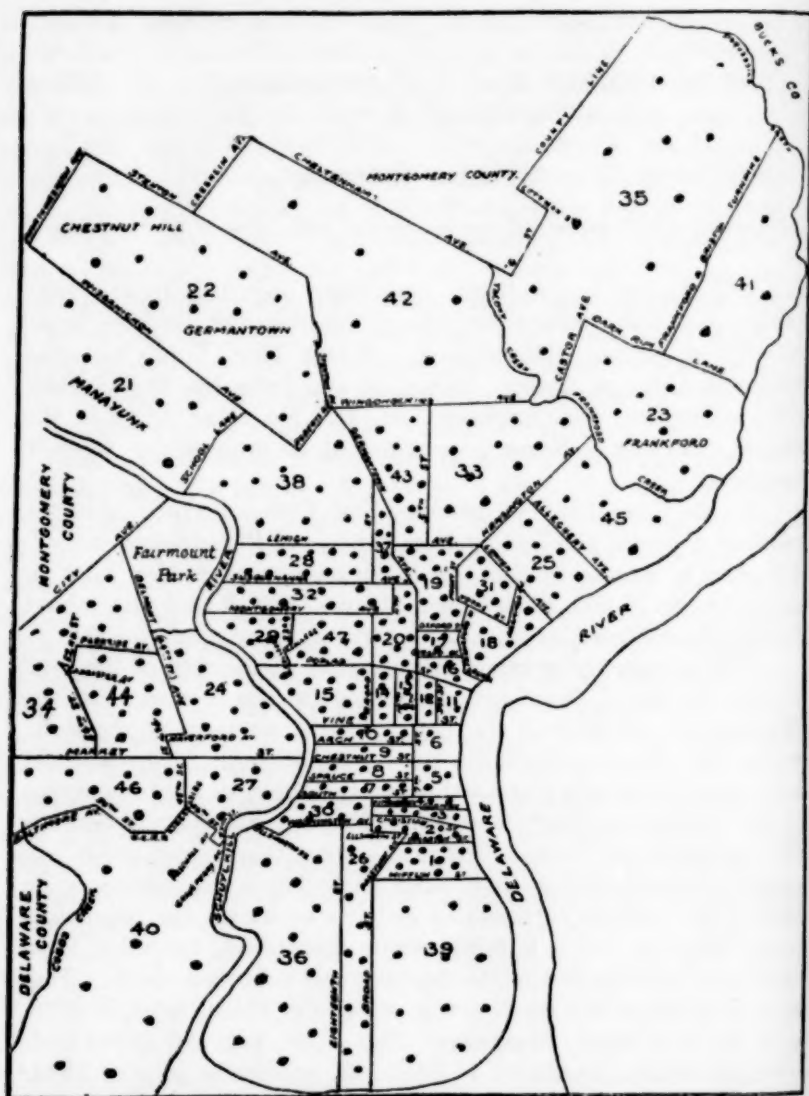
Secretary and Treasurer of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia has a Negro population according to the 1910 census of 84,459. Four other cities in the United States have larger Negro populations: Washington, 94,446; New York, including Manhattan, Bronx, Queens, Richmond and Brooklyn, 91,709; New Orleans, 89,262; and Baltimore, 84,749. No other cities in the United States have Negro populations at all approaching these in numbers.

At the present rate of increase, New York will probably in the next ten years be the leading Negro city, and Philadelphia, second. This may be seen by the fact that in the past ten years New York increased about 31,000; Philadelphia, about 22,000; Washington, about 12,000; New Orleans, about 11,500; and Baltimore, about 5,500.

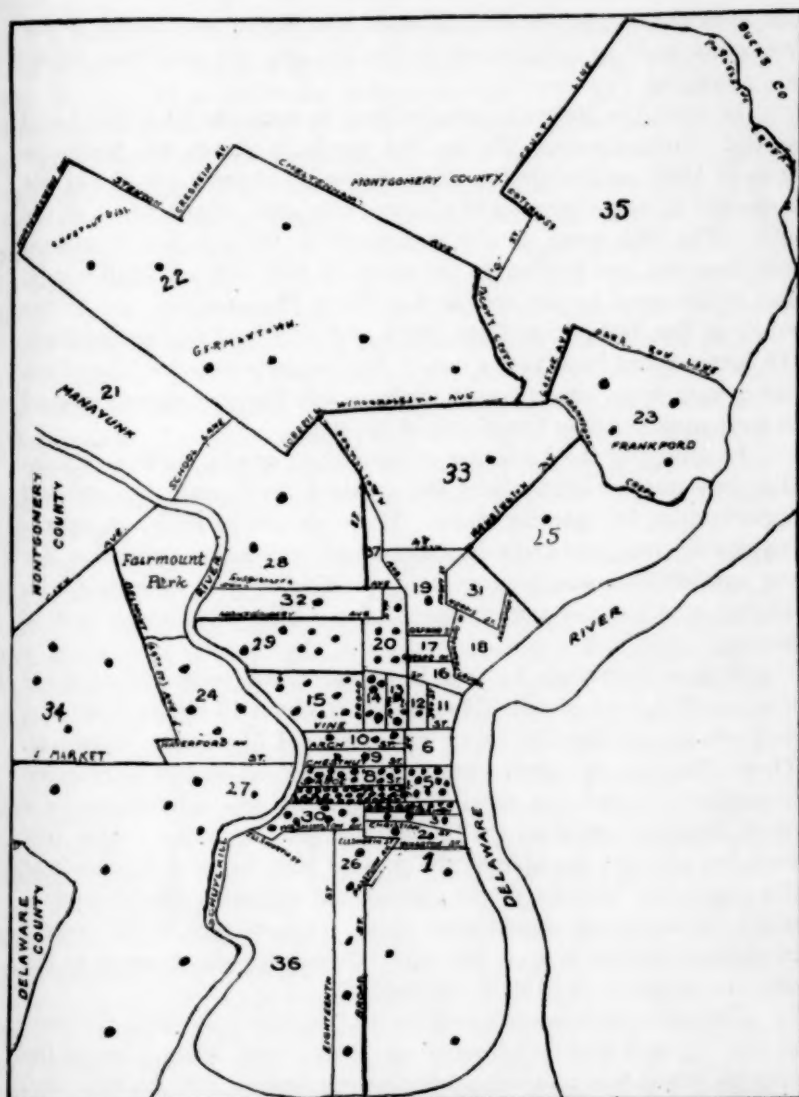
The accompanying maps indicating the distribution of the total population and of the Negro population by wards show how the Negroes are spread over the city. Map A on page 82 shows by wards the distribution of the total population in 1910, each dot indicating a population of 5,000 persons. The chief business section of the city centers about Market and Chestnut Streets, and between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, so that this district shows less congestion of dwellings than those immediately surrounding it on both sides. In the surrounding districts or wards, the population is the thickest, but it is fairly evenly distributed, becoming, however, less concentrated in the outlying and suburban wards. Map B on page 83 shows the Negro population of Philadelphia, in 1890, each dot indicating 250 persons. Map C, on page 86 shows similarly the Negro population of 1910. In noting the map of 1890,¹

¹ These maps give the population accurately by wards, but of course as they do not show the relative distribution of population in different parts of the ward, the results in a few wards are a trifle misleading. For example, in the 26th and 36th wards, the greater part of the Negro population is toward the northern ends.



MAP A.—DISTRIBUTION BY WARDS OF POPULATION OF PHILADELPHIA, BOTH
WHITE AND NEGRO, 1910

One dot to every 5,000 population



MAP B.—DISTRIBUTION BY WARDS OF NEGRO POPULATION OF PHILADELPHIA,
1890

One dot to every 250 Negroes. No Tabulation for Wards 35, 36, and 37

one sees the largest concentration of the Negro population in the 7th ward, and the next largest in the 4th, 5th, 8th and 30th, which are adjoining.

In 1910, the Negro population has, to some extent, shifted and spread. In the central 5th and 8th wards, it is very much smaller than in 1890, and, while the 7th is larger by about 2,700, it has not increased in proportion to the increase in some other parts of the city. The 30th ward, to the southwest of the 7th, has increased over five-fold, and further to the south, in the 26th and 36th wards, and to the west in various parts of West Philadelphia, and to the north in the 14th, 15th, 20th, 47th and 32d, and in Germantown, the increase has been very great. The Negro population, therefore, has a very large concentrated nucleus, but has increasingly spread in large numbers over two-thirds of the city.

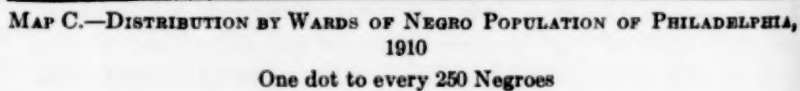
In studying the bettering of conditions among such a population, one must inquire about the greatest needs and the practical opportunities for meeting them. There should be sufficient opportunities for religious and educational instruction, for recreation, for the amelioration and improvement of social and of economic conditions, and for the improvement of conditions of health and of housing.

Scattered through the wards to meet the religious needs of this population are about 105 churches of about 12 different denominations, mostly Baptist, or of some form of Methodist Episcopal. These churches are, apart from their function as centers of religious inspiration, centers for social entertainment and intercourse to a much larger extent than are the churches of the white people, yet very few of them are able at the present time to meet the needs of the population in some of the educational and recreational ways in which social centers should meet them. Accordingly, social centers in various sections have grown up. These with playgrounds in the city are indicated in Map D on page 87.

Two playgrounds are available for the thickly populated center of the 7th and 30th wards—one on the extreme lower edge of the colored population and one which is well located for the 30th, and the upper part of the 7th. Unfortunately, the latter will probably soon be abolished and the ground used for other purposes, and if no other ground is secured, this will be a serious loss to the community. A ground is also especially needed in the neighborhood of the 40th and 27th wards.

A number of the social centers are at the present time doing very good work, but as a group they are in number and equipment very inadequate to meet the present needs. The things that are needed throughout the city to make the proper recreational facilities are playgrounds and the increased use of the school yards and buildings. On account of the great financial difficulties in securing sufficient money for social centers, adequate provisions can usually be made only at the schools. It will, however, be of no special value to have these unless, when they are opened, they can have the proper supervision. The use of such facilities with good sympathetic supervision is one of the greatest needs of the colored people at the present time. The Thomas Durham school building, in the 7th ward, is becoming an increasingly valuable social center of the kind needed. There are now, as may be seen on the map, a number of centers in the central section, noteworthy among which will be the Y. M. C. A., with its new \$100,000 building, and the Y. W. C. A., with its new plant.

Some of the institutions and agencies for relief and for social betterment are for both white and colored and some for colored only. In some organizations purporting to work "without distinction of color" it is very difficult to get attention for a colored case. On the whole, however, in most lines a fair proportion of colored cases receive attention. Some of the activities and opportunities of such institutions and agencies may be briefly summarized. The day nurseries receiving colored children are fairly adequate for the different sections where there are large colored populations, except in the neighborhood of the 47th and 20th wards, where one is much needed. Four of them are in or near the central section where there is the largest population, one in West Philadelphia, and one in Germantown. Most of the hospitals receive colored cases in large numbers, and in two hospitals courses are given for the training of colored nurses. Lying-in charities afford shelter and protection. One agency meets colored immigrants from the South at the wharves, and affords them needed protection. Dependent children are provided for through a number of institutions in many of which there is coöperation, the cases being distributed through the children's bureau. Many of these institutions have a long history and between them furnish quite as good facilities as are afforded to white children.



One dot to every 250 Negroes



MAP D—PLAYGROUNDS, INCLUDING PARKS USED AS PLAYGROUNDS AND SOCIAL CENTERS, AVAILABLE TO NEGROES, 1913

⊙ Indicates a Social Center

The report of the committee on municipal charities² says that ten institutions care for both white and colored, with a capacity of 2,567, and ten for colored children only, with a capacity of 567. It is sometimes necessary to send more children to these institutions than would normally be sent, because of the extreme difficulty in finding proper kinds of homes in the country near Philadelphia in which to place them. In spite of thorough and continual investigation by the Children's Aid Society, the number of such homes seems to be very small in proportion to the need. Provisions additional to those made by the municipality for the aged and infirm are furnished by one institution, with accommodations for 140, and by one small home. The state reformatories are for both white and colored. In addition to the facilities by the municipality, two private institutions for the blind, two for the deaf, and two for the feeble-minded and epileptic admit Negroes. The number of Negroes about one year ago in these institutions, according to investigation, were, respectively, 10, 21 and 31. General agencies for charity organization, children's aid, protection of children from cruelty, etc., and other agencies of outdoor relief, should be and are run under general organizations for both races.

Negroes have much more difficulty in securing good houses in good neighborhoods than members of the other races have. Various building and loan associations have helped them much to overcome this handicap. Under the Housing Commission of Philadelphia, several committees of colored people have, from time to time, been organized to care for the needs of their own communities, but very little interest has been shown by the committees and not much has been done. Through such committees the colored people could, with entire protection to themselves, rid many communities of filth, bad drainage, and overcrowding, and could much improve health conditions. Most of the agencies for the improvement of health—namely, hospitals with their social service departments, dispensaries, anti-tuberculosis society, etc.—give their interest and attention to colored and white.

Economic opportunities for the majority of Negroes are limited. They can work in but few trades, though one may find in census reports that there are Negroes in almost all kinds of work that do

²Report of Sub-Committee on "Dependent Children" in the *Report of the Committee on Municipal Charities*, 1913.

not require large capital. The figures in such reports do not always reveal real conditions. If one hundred carpenters, for example, are recorded, so many of these are unskilled that the figures do not represent real conditions, and seem to show a larger number of workmen in this occupation than actually exists. The women are restricted chiefly to domestic service, and though this restriction is unfortunate and resented by them, they do quite as well economically as white girls of similar efficiency and training. To men, however, the restrictions are more serious. Unskilled Negro men through faults partly their own, and partly those of the other race, are limited in the kinds of work open to them, and the Negro boys are restricted in the kinds to which through skill and training they may rise.

Vocational training, and training in the qualities of character necessary to success, are needed. Ample facilities for academic training but not for vocational are available. Courses at the University of Pennsylvania are open to those desiring to enter. Good courses may be obtained by a limited number in private institutions in dressmaking, sewing and cooking. Several private schools give trade courses, and at the Philadelphia Trade School several courses are open, but in training in trade and business courses and in the lines of work in which the majority enter, there are not, and can not be, sufficient facilities except through the public school system. Public schools are the means through which, not only the educational, but, to a large extent, the economic needs must be met.

The historical development of the agencies and institutions, some of them dating from long before the time of emancipation, may be sketched briefly. As early as 1770, a school house was built by members of the Society of Friends for the education of the colored people, and a number of such educational institutions were established, from time to time, but gradually the public school system has come to fill the function for which these pioneers planned. Two institutions for dependent colored children, started in 1822 and 1855, are still existent and perform an important work for dependent children. In more recent times other institutions for dependent children have been established. In 1864, a home for aged and infirm colored persons was founded. A trade school started in 1837 was, in 1902, made a normal school for academic and industrial training of Negro teachers. The majority of these institutions founded fifty

years ago, or more, are supported by endowment, and the control of the management is, to a large extent, in the hands of members of the white race. Many of them are very well conducted and are an invaluable help in meeting the present needs. Most of the organizations treating chiefly colored cases, however, have started within the past twenty years. They include hospitals, schools, homes, social centers, etc. In some of these, the institutions in both their work and oversight are carried on largely by colored people. Some are supported by voluntary contributions, but some receive a considerable amount of their support from state appropriations.

In any large city there should be an organization to work in a general practical way for the interest of the colored people, supplementing at any time the community needs which are not being met by the other institutions. This the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia has for five years increasingly endeavored to do in Philadelphia.

Several general activities for such an organization are obvious: (1) A bureau of record of various institutions both within and outside of the city, to help the various agencies in the treatment of individual cases. (2) An occasional investigation in a field in which improvement seems possible. (3) Education of the white members of the community to make them feel a sympathy with and responsibility to the other race. (4) Education of the colored members of the community to make them feel a practical interest in the progress of their people. (5) Practical work in fields needing temporarily special attention.

A large amount of data relative to a bureau of record has been obtained and a bureau partially completed. Three careful investigations have been made and printed. Literature is sent annually to over 10,000 white persons in Philadelphia. Much of this is merely in circular form but it gains the attention of many who otherwise would not hear of the Negro problem from a sympathetic point of view. In this, of course, work somewhat similar is done by others. Lectures have been held in schools and churches. Recently the meetings at which these lectures have been held have been well attended. At each of the recent meetings an expert has given an address on a special phase of social work.

In addition to the above, the Armstrong Association has given a great deal of attention and effort to two subjects of especial impor-

tance at the present time: First, the economic situation, which a worker of the charity organization reports is the greatest handicap of the colored people; second, the public schools as an agency for help.

To aid in solving the difficulty of the economic situation, the Armstrong Association established an office with a department for employment which has grown steadily. The chief purpose of the employment work is: (1) To help skilled Negroes to get work, and (2) to help Negroes into new kinds of work. During the past year it has helped in securing five hundred jobs and placements for colored men and women. These placements were made through the office at which opportunities were looked up, references secured, and often investigations made of how the work was done. This five hundred does not, however, represent the actual number assisted, because a number of men who were helped to get work several years ago, have since then dealt directly with their customers without the necessity of using the Armstrong Association as an intermediary, and have consequently each year obtained positions which are not credited to us. Our purpose among mechanics has been to increase the number of workers and to help those who are already working. Three associations among the mechanics were formed, covering different branches, and two others have affiliated with us, namely—the stationary engineers and the portable engineers. Among the stationary engineers there has been considerable appreciation of the importance of continued organization, but among the others the advantages of mutual coöperation do not seem to be yet appreciated. Mechanics have been helped by us in the drawing of contracts and specifications and, sometimes, in their accounts, with the result that one man increased his work from a very small amount to about \$7,000, in one year, and in the next year to about \$25,000. The progress of the men has been handicapped through their lack of capital and through their inability to secure loans at reasonable rates of interest. But such loans would be of little value without training on their part in being able to handle the financial side of large operations. A remedial loan association would, however, be of great value to them. The association was instrumental in helping more than a hundred shirt waist workers to secure places in shirt waist factories. Different individuals among these changed so frequently from year to year that any organization among them to

increase their numbers and efficiency proved to be impossible. Over a hundred track workers for the Pennsylvania Railroad were found places, and thus introduced into a kind of work which was new to them in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

The association is planning to continue to increase the industrial possibilities among the men by further study of openings, and by following up individual cases to see in each case whether the difficulty is prejudice, improper supervision, or inefficiency, and whether this difficulty can be remedied.

To help the public schools experimentally, the Armstrong Association employs a trained worker in two important school centers, under the direction of the principals. The worker gives her whole time to the two schools where the largest number of colored children attend. Through her there has been established a point of contact between the home and the school, and by visits in the homes and studies of the needs and possibilities of each individual child, by meetings of parents, by treatment of special cases, and by vocational guidance the parent and the child both become more interested in the school and the child is helped. A social center is promised in one of these schools which already has an evening school, and in the other it is hoped that an evening school will soon be established. In both it seems as if progress is being made and new possibilities shown. In the actual handling of the work, Negro social workers are usually the best, and they will be of increasing importance. Nothing can be more important at the present time than the thorough training and guidance of such workers, who with proper oversight, increasing from time to time, will make their work more efficient. Through such workers there should be an improvement in general in the conditions among the colored people.

The work just outlined of an organization for the systematic study and betterment of conditions of Negroes living in cities, is comparatively new, starting five years ago, but we are convinced that it has done good and that such work has possibilities for good. Similar work is being undertaken in New York and several other cities, and will be increasingly recognized as an important part of the program of social work of an American city.

PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP

BY RAY STANNARD BAKER,

Amherst, Mass.

What place does the Negro occupy as a citizen in the American democracy, and what place should he occupy?

Up to the present time, although the status of the Negro has presented the most serious single group of problems that the nation has ever had to meet, his influence as a participant in the rights and responsibilities of government has been almost negligible. He has been an issue but not an actor in politics.

In the antebellum slavery agitation Negroes played no consequential part; they were an inert lump of humanity possessing no power of inner direction; the leaders on both sides of the struggle that centered around the institution of slavery were white men. The Negroes did not even follow poor old John Brown. After the war the Negro continued to be an issue rather than a partaker in politics, and the conflict continued to be between groups of white men. First, the solid South was arrayed against the Northern reconstructionists, and afterwards the old aristocratic party in the South engaged in a long struggle with a rising democratic party which included the poor white element, up to that time politically unimportant. Even in reconstruction times, and I am not forgetting exceptional Negroes like Bruce, Revels, Pinchback and others, the Negro was a partaker in government solely by virtue of the power of the North. As a class the Negroes were not self-directed, but were used by the Northern reconstructionists and certain political Southerners, who took most of the offices and nearly all the pilferings.

And this is not in the least surprising. Emerging from a condition of slavery the Negro had no power of independent action and practically no leaders who knew anything. He was still a slave in everything except name; and yet he was asked to become at once a governing citizen. Even an amendment to the federal constitution could not over night make freemen of slaves; for citizenship is bestowed in vain upon those who have not, in some measure, earned it.

Half a century, however, has wrought profound changes. Beginning in the crude freedmen's schools, and inspired later by the leadership of able men, both white and colored, the Negro has made surprising advances in fifty years. He has developed a real self-consciousness, he has his own body of opinion expressed in his own newspapers, and his leadership is clearly defined and vigorous. There can be no manner of doubt of the remarkable progress of this race of slaves in half a century; and there is reason to believe that the progress will continue. Thousands of Negroes today have earned citizenship.

"I believe I am safe in saying," writes Booker T. Washington, the greatest of Negro leaders, "that nowhere are there 10,000,000 black people who have greater opportunities or are making better progress than the Negroes in America."

In making these assertions, however, I do not wish to imply that no difficult problems remain to be solved. The Negro not only continues to be a hair-trigger issue in at least ten states of the Union, but the very fact that so many are now prepared for citizenship and are pressing forward to use with intelligence the rights conferred upon them by the fifteenth amendment, gives rise to new and very serious problems. The status of the Negro in the democracy still remains unsettled. Thousands of Americans believe earnestly that no Negro, no matter how intelligent, should be allowed to share in the government, and these not only wish to throw down the legal barrier imposed by the fifteenth amendment, but do their best by state legislation, or by artifice at the primaries or at elections, to nullify the legal rights of the Negro. Other thousands of Americans believe that all Negroes, like all white men, should have the full rights of citizenship. And between these two extremes exists every shade of opinion. As for the Negroes themselves, all of them, no matter what diversities of opinion there may be among them as to methods of progress, are pressing steadily forward to become real participants in government; and in Northern cities they have already become an element decidedly to be reckoned with. In certain Northern States like Ohio and Indiana the Negro vote is increasingly important.

In order to answer with intelligence the question proposed at the head of this article it will be well to consider, at the start, some of the fundamental aspects of citizenship, as symbolized by the right to vote.

It will be admitted without argument, I think, that all governments do and of necessity must exercise the right to limit the number of people who are permitted to take part in the weighty responsibilities of the suffrage. Some governments allow only a few men to vote; in an absolute monarchy there is only one voter; other governments as they become more democratic, permit a larger proportion of the people to vote.

Our own government is one of the freest in the world in the matter of suffrage; and yet we bar out, in most states, all women; we bar out Mongolians, no matter how intelligent; we bar out Indians and all foreigners who have not passed through a certain probationary stage and have not acquired a certain small amount of education. We also declare—for an arbitrary limit must be placed somewhere—that no person under twenty-one years may exercise the right to vote, although some boys of eighteen are today as well equipped to pass intelligently upon public questions as many grown men. We even place adult white men on probation until they have resided for a certain length of time, often as much as two years, in the state or town where they wish to cast their ballots. Our registration and ballot laws eliminate hundreds of thousands of voters, and finally we bar out everywhere the defective and criminal classes of our population. We do not realize, sometimes, I think, how limited the franchise really is, even in America. We forget that out of over 90,000,000 people in the United States only 15,000,000 cast their votes for President in 1912—or about one in every six.

Thus the practice of a restricted suffrage is very deeply implanted in our system of government. It is everywhere recognized that even in a democracy lines must be drawn, and that the ballot, the precious instrument of the government, must be hedged about with stringent regulations. The question is, where shall these lines be drawn in order that the best interests, not of any particular class, but of the whole nation shall be served.

Upon this question we, as free citizens, have the absolute right to agree or disagree with the present laws concerning suffrage; and if we want more people brought in as partakers of the government, or some people who are already in, barred out, we have a right to organize, to agitate, to do our best to change the laws. Powerful organizations of women are now agitating for the right to vote; there is an organization which demands the suffrage for Chinese and

Japanese who wish to become citizens. It is even conceivable that a society might be founded to lower the age-limit from twenty-one to nineteen years, thereby endowing a large number of young men with the privileges, and therefore the educational responsibilities, of political power. On the other hand, many people, chiefly in our Southern States, earnestly believe that the right of the Negro to vote should be curtailed, or even abolished.

Thus we disagree, and government is the resultant of all these diverse views and forces. No one can say dogmatically how far democracy should go in distributing the enormously important powers of active government. Democracy is not a dogma; it is not even a dogma of free suffrage. Democracy is a life, a spirit, a growth. The primal necessity of any sort of government, democratic or otherwise, whether it be more unjust or less unjust toward special groups of its citizens, is to exist, to be a going concern, to maintain upon the whole a stable administration of affairs. If a democracy cannot provide such stability, then the people go back to some form of oligarchy. Having secured a fair measure of stability, a democracy proceeds with caution toward the extension of the suffrage to more and more people—trying foreigners, trying women, trying Negroes.

And no one can prophesy how far a democracy will ultimately go in the matter of suffrage. We know only the tendency. We know that in the beginning, even in America, the right to vote was a very limited matter. In the early years in New England, only church members voted; then the franchise was extended to include property-owners, then it was enlarged to include all white male adults (with certain restrictions), then to include Negroes, then in several Western States, to include women.

Thus the line has been constantly advancing, but with many fluctuations, eddies, and back-currents, like any other stream of progress. At the same time the fundamental principles which underlie popular government, and especially the whole matter of popular suffrage, are much in the public mind. The tendency of government throughout the entire civilized world is strongly in the direction of placing more and more power in the hands of a larger proportion of the people.

In our own country we are enacting a remarkable group of laws providing for direct primaries in the nominations of public

officials, for direct election of United States senators and for direct legislation by means of the initiative and referendum, and we are even going to the point in many cities and states of permitting the people to recall an elected official who is unsatisfactory. The principle of local option, which is nothing but that of direct government by the people, is being widely accepted. All these changes affect, fundamentally, the historic structure of our government, making it less representative and more democratic.

Still more important and far-reaching in its significance is the tendency of our government, especially our cities and our federal government, to regulate or to appropriate business enterprises formerly left wholly in private hands. More and more private business is becoming public business.

Now, then, as the weight of responsibility upon the popular vote is increased, it becomes more and more important that the ballot should be jealously guarded and honestly exercised. In the last few years, therefore, a series of extraordinary new precautions have been adopted: the Australian ballot, more stringent registration systems, the stricter enforcement of naturalization laws to prevent the voting of crowds of unprepared foreigners, and the imposition by several states, rightly or wrongly, of educational or property tests. It becomes a more and more serious matter every year to be an American citizen, more of an honor, more of a duty.

At the close of the Civil War, in a time of intense idealistic emotion, some three-quarters of a million of Negroes, the mass of them densely ignorant and just out of slavery, with the iron of slavery still in their souls, were suddenly given the political rights of free citizens. A great many people, and not in the South alone, thought then, and still think, that it was a mistake to bestow the high powers and privileges of a wholly unrestricted ballot—a ballot which is the symbol of intelligent self-government—upon the Negro. Other people, of whom I am one, believe that it was an unescapable concomitant of the revolution; it was itself a revolution, not a growth, and like every other revolution it had its fearful reaction. Revolutions, indeed, change names but they do not at once change human relationships. Mankind is reconstructed not by proclamations, or legislation, or military occupation, but by time, growth, religion, thought. At that time, then, the nation drove down the stakes of its idealism in government far beyond the point which it was able

to reach in the humdrum activities of everyday existence. A reaction was inevitable; it was inevitable and perfectly natural that there should be a widespread questioning as to whether all Negroes, or indeed any Negroes, should properly be admitted to full political fellowship. That questioning continues to this day.

Now, the essential principle established by this fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was not that all Negroes should necessarily be given an unrestricted ballot; but that the right to vote should not be denied or abridged "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment wiped out the color line in politics so far as any written law could possibly do it.

Let me here express my profound conviction that the principle of political equality then laid down is a sound, valid, and absolutely essential principle of any free government; that the restriction upon the ballot, when necessary, should be made to apply equally to white and colored citizens, and that the fifteenth amendment ought not to be repealed. Moreover, I am convinced that the principle of political equality is more firmly established today than it was forty years ago, when it had only Northern bayonets behind it. For now, however short the practice falls of reaching the legal standard, the principle is woven into the warp and woof of Southern life and Southern legislation. Not a few Southern white leaders of thought are today convinced, not forced believers in the principle, and that is a great omen.

Limitations have come about, it is true, and were to be expected as the back-currents of the revolution. Laws providing for educational or property qualifications as a prerequisite to the exercise of suffrage have been passed in all the Southern States, and have operated to exclude from the ballot large numbers of both white and colored citizens, who, on account of ignorance or poverty, are unable to meet the tests. These provisions, whatever the opinion entertained as to the wisdom of such laws, are well within the principle laid down by the fifteenth amendment. But several Southern States have gone a step farther, and have passed the so-called "grandfather laws," the effect of which is to exempt certain ignorant white men from the necessity of meeting the educational and property tests. Some of these unfair "grandfather laws" have now expired by limitation in the states adopting them and some are in process of being tested in the courts.

Let me, then, lay down this general proposition:

Nowhere in the South today is the Negro cut off legally, as a Negro, from the ballot. Legally, today, any Negro who can meet the comparatively slight requirements as to education, or property, or both, can cast his ballot on a basis of equality with the white man. I have emphasized the word legally, for I know the practical difficulties which confront the Negro voter in many parts of the South. In the enforcement of the law, the legislative ideal is still pegged out far beyond the actual performance.

Now, then, if we are interested in the problem of democracy, we have two courses open to us. We may think the laws are unjust to the Negro, and incidentally to the poor white man as well. If we do we have a perfect right to agitate for a change, and we can do much to disclose, without heat, the actual facts regarding the complicated and vexatious legislative situation in the South, as regards the suffrage. Every change in the legislation upon this subject should, indeed, be jealously watched that the principle of political equality between the races be not legally curtailed. The doctrine laid down in the fifteenth amendment must, at any hazard, be maintained.

But personally, and I am here voicing a profound conviction, I think our emphasis at present should be laid upon the practical rather than upon the legal aspect of the problem. I think we should take advantage of the widely prevalent feeling in the South that the question of suffrage has been settled, legally, for some time to come; of the desire on the part of many Southern people, both white and colored, to turn aside from the discussion of the political status of the Negro. In short, let us for the time being accept the laws as they are, and build upward from that point. Let us turn our attention to the practical task of finding out why it is that the laws we already have are not enforced, and how best to secure an honest vote for every Negro and equally for every "poor white" man, (and there are thousands of him) who is able to meet the requirements, but who for one reason or another does not or cannot exercise his rights.

Taking up this side of the question we shall discover two entirely distinct difficulties:

First, we shall find many Negroes, and indeed hundreds of thousands of white men as well, who might vote, but who through

ignorance, or the inability or unwillingness to pay poll taxes, or from mere lack of interest, disfranchise themselves.

The second difficulty is peculiar to the Negro. It consists in open or concealed intimidation on the part of the white men who control the election machinery. In many places in the South today no Negro, no matter how well qualified, would dare to present himself for registration. When he does he is often rejected for some trivial or illegal reason.

Thus we have to meet a vast amount of apathy and ignorance and poverty on the one hand, and the threat of intimidation on the other.

First of all, for it is the chief injustice as between white and colored men that we have to deal—an injustice which the law already makes punishable—how shall we meet the matter of intimidation? As I have said already the door of the suffrage is everywhere legally open to the Negro, but a certain sort of Southerner bars the passageway. He stands there and, law or no law, keeps out many Negroes who might vote, and he represents in most parts of the South the prevailing public opinion.

Shall we meet this situation by force? What force is available? Shall the North go down and fight the South? But the North today has no feeling but friendship for the South. More than that, and I say it with all seriousness, because it represents what I have heard wherever I have gone in the North to make inquiries regarding the Negro problem, the North, wrongly or rightly, is today more than half convinced that the South is right in imposing some measure of limitation upon the franchise. There is now, in short, no disposition anywhere in the North to interfere in the internal affairs of the South—not even with the force of public opinion.

What other force, then, is to be invoked? Shall the Negro revolt? Shall he migrate? The very asking of these questions suggests the inevitable reply.

We might as well, here and now, dismiss the idea of force, express or implied. There are times of last resort which call for force (and the time may come in the future when force will again have to be applied to cure injustice); but this plainly is not such a time.

What other alternatives are there?

Accepting the laws as they are, then, there are two methods of procedure, neither sensational, nor exciting.

The underlying causes of the trouble in the country being plainly ignorance and prejudice, we must meet ignorance and prejudice with their antidotes: education and association.

Every effort should be made to extend free education both among Negroes and white people. A great extension of education is now going forward in the South. The Negro is not by any means getting his full share (indeed he is getting shamefully less than his share), but as certainly as sunshine makes things grow, education in the South will produce tolerance. That there is already such a growing tolerance no one who has talked with the leading white men of the South can doubt. The old fire-eating, Negro-baiting leaders of the Tillman-Vardaman type are passing away: a far better and broader group is coming into power.

In his last book Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Alabama, expresses this new point of view when he says:

There is no question here as to the unrestricted admission (to the ballot) of the great masses of our ignorant and semi-ignorant blacks. I know no advocate of such an admission. But the question is as to whether the individuals of the race, upon conditions of restriction legally imposed and fairly administered, shall be admitted to an adequate and increasing representation in the electorate. And as that question is more seriously and more generally considered many of the leading publicists of the South, I am glad to say, are quietly resolved that the answer shall be in the affirmative.

From an able Southern white man, a resident of New Orleans, I received only recently a letter containing these words:

"I believe we have reached the bottom, and a sort of quiescent period. I think it most likely that from now on there will be a gradual increase in the Negro vote. And I honestly believe that the less said about it, the surer the increase will be."

Education, and by education I mean education of all sorts, industrial, professional, classical, in accordance with each man's talents will not only produce breadth and tolerance, but it will help to cure the apathy which now keeps so many thousands of both white men and Negroes from the polls: for it will show them that it is necessary for every man to exercise all the political rights within his reach. For if he fails voluntarily to take advantage of the rights he already has, how shall he acquire more rights?

As ignorance must be met by education, so prejudice must be met with its antidote, which is association. Democracy does not

consist in mere voting, but in association, the spirit of common effort, of which the ballot is a visible expression. When we come to know one another we soon find that the points of likeness are much more numerous than the points of difference. And this human association for the common good, which is democracy, is difficult to bring about anywhere, whether among different classes of white people, or between white people and Negroes.

After the Atlanta riot I attended a number of conferences between leading white men and leading colored men. It is true these meetings bore evidence of awkwardness and embarrassment, for they were among the first of that sort to take place in the South, but they were none the less valuable. A white man told me after one of these meetings: "I did not know there were any such sensible Negroes in the South." And a Negro told me that it was the first time in his life that he had ever heard a Southern white man reason in a friendly manner with a Negro concerning their common difficulties.

More and more these associations of white and colored men, at certain points of contact, must and will come about. Already, in connection with various educational and business projects in the South, white men and colored men meet on common grounds, and the way has been opened to a wider mutual understanding. And it is common enough now, where it was unheard of a few years ago, for both white men and Negroes to speak from the same platform in the South. I have attended a number of such meetings. Thus slowly, awkwardly at first—for two centuries of prejudice are not easily overcome—the white man and Negro are coming to know each other, not as master and servant, but as co-workers. These things cannot be forced.

One reason why the white man and the Negro have not got together more rapidly in the South than they have, is because they have tried always to meet at the sorest points. When sensible people, who must live together whether or no, find that there are points at which they cannot agree, it is the part of wisdom to avoid those points, and to meet upon other and common interests. Upon no other terms, indeed, can a democracy exist, for in no imaginable future state will individuals cease to disagree with one another upon something less than half of all the problems of life.

"Here we all live together in a great country," say the apostles

of this view, "let us all get together and develop it. Let the Negro do his best to educate himself, to own his own land, and to buy and sell with the white people in the fairest possible way "

Now, buying and selling, land ownership and common material pursuits may not be the highest points of contact between man and man, but they are real points, and they help to give men an idea of the worth of their fellows, white or black. How many times, in the South, I have heard a white man speak in high admiration for some Negro farmer who had been successful, or of some Negro blacksmith who was a worthy citizen, or some Negro doctor who was a leader of his race.

It is curious once a man (any man, white or black) learns to do his job well how he finds himself in a democratic relationship with other men. I remember asking a prominent white citizen of a town in central Georgia if he knew anything about Tuskegee. He said:

Yes; I had rather a curious experience last fall. I was building a hotel and couldn't get anyone to do the plastering as I wanted it done. One day I saw two Negro plasterers at work in a new house that a friend of mine was building. I watched them for an hour. They seemed to know their trade. I invited them to come over and see me. They came, took the contract for my work, hired a white man to carry mortar at a dollar a day, and when they got through it was the best job of plastering in town. I found that they had learned their trade at Tuskegee. They averaged four dollars a day each in wages. We tried to get them to locate in our town, but they went back to school.

Out of such crude points of contact will grow an ever finer and finer spirit of association and of common and friendly knowledge. And that will lead inevitably to an extension upon the soundest possible basis of Negro franchise. I know cases where white men have urged intelligent Negroes to cast their ballots, and have stood sponsor for them out of genuine respect. Today, Negroes who vote in the South are as a class, men of substance and intelligence, fully equal to the tasks of citizenship.

Thus I have confidence not only in the sense of the white man in the South but in the innate capability of the Negro—and that once these two really come to know each other, not at sore points of contact, nor as mere master and servant, but as workers for a common country, the question of suffrage will gradually solve itself in the interest of true democracy.

Another influence also will tend to change the status of the Negro as a voter. That is the pending break-up of the political solidarity of the South. All the signs point to a political re-alignment upon new issues in this country, both South and North. Old party names may even pass away. And that break-up, with the attendant struggle for votes, is certain to bring into politics thousands of Negroes and white men now disfranchised. The result of a real division on live issues has been shown in many local contests in the South, as in the fight against the saloons, when every qualified Negro voter, and every Negro who could qualify, was eagerly pushed forward by one side or the other. With such a division on new issues the Negro will tend to exercise more and more political power, dividing not on the color line, but on the principles at stake. Still another influence which is helping to solve the problem is the wider diffusion of Negroes throughout the country. The proportion of Negroes to the whites in most of the Southern States is decreasing, thereby relieving the fear of Negro domination, whereas Negroes are increasing largely in Northern communities, where they take their place in politics not as an indigestible mass, but divide along party lines even more readily than some of the foreign-American groups in our population. A study of the Negro vote in November, 1912, would show that many Negroes broke their historic allegiance with the Republican party and voted for Roosevelt, while some even cast their votes for Wilson; and in local elections the division is still more marked.

Thus in spite of the difficulties which now confront the Negro, I cannot help looking upon the situation with a spirit of optimism. I think sometimes we are tempted to set a higher value upon the ritual of a belief than upon the spirit which underlies it. The ballot is not democracy; it is merely the symbol or ritual of democracy, and it may be full of passionate social significance, or it may be a mere empty and dangerous formalism. What we should look to, then, primarily, is not the shadow, but the substance of democracy in this country. Nor must we look for results too swiftly; our progress toward democracy is slow of growth and needs to be cultivated with patience and watered with faith.

CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN THE CITIES

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Fifty years after four millions of Negro slaves were made freedmen, there is still the responsibility upon the nation to make that seeming freedom really free. So many other national problems thrust themselves upon the attention of the people today that there is danger lest the nation grow forgetful of the tremendous portent of this special responsibility left it from the past. The present generation is doubtless just as loyal to the principles of liberty and just as faithful to the ideals of democracy as were the fathers of the republic, but the principles and ideals of the American people are meeting the challenge of latter day problems, and the people may become unmindful of unfinished tasks. Thus the condition of the Negro may receive less attention from the nation; his economic and social difficulties may be less generally known; his migrations and concentration in cities, North and South, are given less attention. The increasing segregated settlements and life of Negroes within the cities may excite less concern. The resulting intensified industrial, housing, health and other maladjustments and the Negro's heroic struggles to overcome these maladjustments are in these days likely to be little considered. These conditions demand thought.

I. THE URBAN MOVEMENT

But social changes do not frequently keep time with social thought, for they are usually the result of unconscious social forces. Many of the changes among Negroes, especially the change from country to city, have been of such a character.

The past half century has seen an acceleration of the urban migration of the entire population. The Negro has been in that population stream. At times and in places his movement cityward has been affected by special influences, but where influences have been similar his movement has been similar.

The Emancipation Proclamation not only abolished the owner-

ship of the slave, but it also released him from the soil. With this breaking down of the economic system based upon slavery, many of the landless freedmen fell victims to the *wanderlust* which has usually affected the masses in times of sudden social upheaval. Thousands of Negroes flocked to the Union Army posts, located in towns and cities. The Ku-Klux terrorism and the mistaken notion of federal paternalistic care added their power to the other forces which operated, during and immediately after the war, to thrust the Negro into the towns. In fourteen Southern cities between 1860 and 1870 the white population increased 16.7 per cent, and the Negro 90.7 per cent; in eight Northern cities (counting all the boroughs of New York City as now constituted as one) the Negro population increased 51 per cent.

But with the removal of exceptional influences, the Negro immigration was reduced. Figures for white and Negro population in principal Southern cities are obtainable from 1870 to 1910, as follows:

1870 to 1880 the whites increased 20.3 per cent, Negroes 25.5 per cent
1880 to 1890 the whites increased 35.7 per cent, Negroes 38.7 per cent
1890 to 1900 the whites increased 20.8 per cent, Negroes 20.6 per cent
1900 to 1910 the whites increased 27.7 per cent, Negroes 20.6 per cent

Just how far the increase of whites and Negroes in Southern cities has been proportionately affected by the drift to Northern cities from Southern territory cannot be ascertained, as the numbers of Southern whites who migrate North are unknown. Surmises may be made from the per cent increase of Negroes in eight Northern cities, which was as follows:

1870 to 1880.....	36.4 per cent
1880 to 1890.....	32.3 per cent
1890 to 1900.....	59.2 per cent

The increase of the urban population, both white and Negro was greater than the rural increase between 1890 and 1900 (the best periods for which we have figures for good comparisons) for both the Continental United States and for the Southern States. In 242 Southern towns and cities which had at least 2500 inhabitants in 1890, the Negroes increased, 1890 to 1900, nearly one-third faster than Negroes in the rural districts. "In the country districts of the South the Negroes increased (1890 to 1900) about two-thirds as fast as the whites; in the cities they increased nearly seven-eighths

as fast." Figures for the white and Negro increase in both city and country districts follow:

PER CENT INCREASE, 1890 TO 1900

	CITIES		COUNTRY DISTRICTS	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Continental United States.....	35.7	35.2	12.4	13.7
South Atlantic and South Central Divisions.....	36.7	31.8	22.9	14.6

The trend of all these figures shows that where the influences and conditions are similar the movements of the two races have been similar.

The causes, besides the breaking down of the slave regime, that have operated to draw the Negro to urban centers have been those fundamental economic, social and individual causes which have affected the general population. Chief among these has been the growth of industrial and commercial activities in urban centers. From 1880 to 1900 Southern cities (according to the showing of the census figures of manufactures, which are only approximately exact) have increased 143.3 per cent in total value of manufactured products, and 60.9 per cent in the average number of wage-earners, exclusive of proprietors, salaried officers and clerks, in manufacturing enterprises.

Railroad building, total tonnage and gross earnings show the development of commerce. In thirteen Southern states from 1860 to 1900, railway mileage increased 461.9 per cent. Total tonnage for most of this territory increased 90.5 per cent in the years from 1890 to 1900, while the total freight, passenger, express and mail earnings increased 48.4 per cent in the same decade.

All the facts available show that the Negro shares the influence of these developments. That he is a main factor in the labor of the South is evident. In a number of Southern cities the white and Negro increases in selected gainful occupations were as follows, between 1890 and 1900: in domestic and personal service, male whites increased 42.3 per cent, Negroes 31.1 per cent; in trade and transportation occupations, male whites increased 25.2 per cent, Negroes 39.1 per cent; in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, male whites 16.3 per cent, Negroes 11.6 per cent.

The divorce of the Negro from the soil after emancipation, and the growth of the industrial and commercial centers are causes which are supplemented by the effect of higher wages paid weekly or monthly in the city on the economic motives of workers; by the trend of legislation, especially labor laws, which favor the city and which, in practical effect in some parts of the South, make harder the uninviting lot of the land tenant; by improved educational and amusement facilities, and by the contact with the moving crowds; while the paved and lighted streets, the greater comforts of the houses and other conveniences which the rustic imagines he can easily get and the dazzling glare of the unknown great world are viewed in decided contrast to the hard, humdrum conditions and poor accommodations on plantation and farm.

The available facts and figures bear out the conclusion that along with the white population the Negroes, under the influence of causes likely to operate for an indefinite period, will continue to migrate to the towns and cities, and that they will come in comparatively large numbers to stay.

Already the Negro urban population has grown to considerable proportions. In 1860 it is estimated that about 4.2 per cent of all the Negroes in the United States were urban dwellers (places of 4,000 or more). By 1890 it had risen to 19.8 per cent (places of 2,500 or more; the figures for 1890 and since are not, therefore, comparable with those for censuses preceding); in 1900 it was 22.7 per cent, and in 1910, 27.4 per cent, or more than one-fourth of the total Negro population. In 1910 thirty-nine cities had 10,000 or more Negroes, and the following twelve cities had more than 40,000 Negroes each:

Atlanta, Ga.....	51,902
Baltimore, Md.....	84,749
Birmingham, Ala.....	52,305
Chicago, Ill.....	44,103
Louisville, Ky.....	40,522
Memphis, Tenn.....	52,441
New Orleans, La.....	89,262
New York, N. Y.....	91,709
Philadelphia, Pa.....	84,459
Richmond, Va.....	46,733
St. Louis, Mo.....	43,960
Washington, D. C.....	94,446

Negroes constituted one-fourth or more of the total population of twenty-seven principal cities (25,000 or more total population), and in four of these cities—viz., Montgomery, Ala., Jacksonville Fla., Savannah, Ga. and Charleston, S. C.—the Negro population was something more than one-half.

II. SEGREGATION WITHIN THE CITY

Migration to the city is being followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city. In Northern cities years ago Negro residents, for the most part, lived where their purses allowed. With the influx of thousands of immigrants from the South and the West Indies, both native Negro and newcomer have been lumped together into distinct neighborhoods. In Southern cities domestic servants usually still live upon the premises of their employers or near by. But the growing Negro business and professional classes and those engaged in other than domestic and personal service find separate sections in which to dwell. Thus the Negro ghetto is growing up. New York has its "San Juan Hill" in the West Sixties, and its Harlem district of over 35,000 within about eighteen city blocks; Philadelphia has its Seventh Ward; Chicago has its State Street; Washington its North West neighborhood, and Baltimore its Druid Hill Avenue. Louisville has its Chestnut Street and its "Smoketown;" Atlanta its West End and Auburn Avenue. These are examples taken at random which are typical of cities, large and small, North and South.

This segregation within the city is caused by strong forces at work both within and without the body of the Negroes themselves. Naturally, Negroes desire to be together. The consciousness of kind in racial, family and friendly ties binds them closer to one another than to their white fellow-citizens. But as Negroes develop in intelligence, in their standard of living and economic power, they desire better houses, better public facilities and other conveniences not usually obtainable in the sections allotted to their less fortunate black brothers. To obtain these advantages they seek other neighborhoods, just as the European immigrants who are crowded into segregated sections of our cities seek better surroundings when they are economically able to secure them.

But a prejudiced opposition from his prospective white neigh-

bors confronts the Negro, which does not meet the immigrant who has shuffled off the coil of his Continental condition. Intelligence and culture do not often discount color of skin. Professions of democratic justice in the North, and deeds of individual kindness in the South, have not yet secured to Negroes the unmolested residence in blocks with white fellow-citizens. In Northern cities where larger liberty in some avenues obtains, the home life, the church life and much of the business and community life of Negroes are carried on separately and apart from the common life of the whole people. In Southern communities, with separate street-car laws, separate places of amusement and recreation, separate hospitals and separate cemeteries, there is sharp cleavage between whites and Negroes, living and dead. With separation in neighborhoods, in work, in churches, in homes and in almost every phase of their life, there is growing up in the cities of America a distinct Negro world, isolated from many of the impulses of the common life and little known and understood by the white world about it.

III. THE SEQUEL OF SEGREGATION

In the midst of this migration and segregation, the Negro is trying to make a three-fold adjustment, each phase of which requires heroic struggle. First, there is the adjustment that all rural populations have to make in learning to live in town. Adjustment to conditions of housing, employment, amusement, etc., is necessary for all who make the change from country to city. The Negro must make a second adjustment from the status of a chattel to that of free contract, from servitude to citizenship. He has to realize in his own consciousness the self-confidence of a free man. Finally, the Negro must adjust himself to the white population in the cities, and it is no exaggeration of the facts to say that generally today the attitude of this white population is either indifferent or prejudiced or both.

Now, the outcome of segregation in such a serious situation is first of all to create an attitude of suspicion and hostility between the best elements of the two races. Too much of the Negro's knowledge of the white world comes through demagogues, commercial sharks, yellow journalism and those "citizens" who compose the mobs, while too much of the white man's knowledge of the Negro

people is derived from similar sources, from domestic servants and from superficial observation of the loafers about the streets. The best elements of both races, thus entirely removed from friendly contact, except for the chance meeting of individuals in the market place, know hardly anything of their common life and tend to become more suspicious and hostile toward each other than toward strangers from a far country.

The white community is thus frequently led to unjust judgments of Negroes and Negro neighborhoods, as seen in the soubriquets of "little Africa," "black bottom," "Niggertown," "Smoketown," "Buzzard's Alley," "Chinch-row," and as indicated by the fact that the individuals and families who live in these neighborhoods are all lumped by popular opinion into one class. Only here and there does a white person come to know that "there are Negroes and Negroes just as there are white folks and white folks." The most serious side of this attitude and opinion is, that the Negro is handicapped by them in securing the very things that would help him in working out his own salvation.

1. The Sequel in Housing Conditions

In the matter of the housing conditions under which he must live, reliable investigations have shown that in several cities the "red-light" districts of white people are either in the midst of, or border closely upon Negro neighborhoods. Also respectable Negroes often find it impossible to free themselves from disreputable and vicious neighbors of their own race, because the localities in which both may live are limited. And on top of this, Negroes often pay higher rentals for accommodations similar to those of white tenants, and, frequently, improved houses are secured only when white people who occupied them have moved on to something better. In Southern cities, many of the abler classes of Negroes have escaped the environment of the vicious element by creating decent neighborhoods through home ownership, and by eternal vigilance, excluding saloons, gambling places or other degrading agencies. For the poorer and less thrifty element, in a number of towns and cities, loose building regulations allow greedy landlords to profit by "gun-barrel" shanties and cottages, by "arks," of which the typical pigeon-house would be a construction model, and by small houses crowded upon the same lot, often facing front street, side street and the alley, with lack of sewerage

and with other sanitary neglect, which an inspector of one Southern city described as "a crying disgrace to any civilized people."

Yet, in the face of these handicaps, thousands of homes that would do credit to any people on earth are springing up in these cities. In the absence or with the indifference of sanitary authorities, intelligent Negroes are not only struggling to free themselves from disease-breeding surroundings, but they are teaching the unintelligent throng. In spite of spontaneous schemes of real estate owners and agents to keep them out of desirable neighborhoods, in spite of the deliberate designs of city segregation ordinances such as have been passed in several cities and attempted in others, in spite of intimidation, the abler Negroes in some cities are buying homes and creating decent neighborhoods in which to live. However, the larger proportion are rent payers and not owners, hence they need intelligent leadership and influential support in their efforts for improved housing and neighborhood conditions.

2. The Economic Sequel

Three facts should be placed in the foreground in looking at the economic conditions of the segregated Negro in the city. First, the masses of those who have migrated to town are unprepared to meet the exacting requirements of organized industry, and the keen competition of more efficient laborers. Second, organized facilities for training these inefficient, groping seekers for something better are next to nothing in practically all the cities to which they are flocking. They, therefore, drift hit or miss into any occupations which are held out to their unskilled hands and untutored brains. Natural aptitude enables many to "pick up" some skill, and these succeed in gaining a stable place. But the thousands work from day to day with that weak tenure and frequent change of place from which all unskilled, unorganized laborers suffer under modern industry and trade.

The third fact of prime importance is the prejudice of the white industrial world, which the Negro must enter to earn his food, shelter and raiment. This prejudice, when displayed by employers, is partly due to the inefficiency indicated above and the failure to discriminate between the efficient individual and this untrained throng. When exhibited by fellow wage-earners, it is partly due to fear of probable successful competitors and to the belief that the Negro

has "his place" fixed by a previous condition of servitude. But in the cases of many employers and employees, as shown in numbers of instances carefully investigated, the opposition to the Negro in industrial pursuits is due to a whimsical dislike of any workman who is not white and especially of one who is black!

The general result of this inefficiency, of this lack of facilities and guidance for occupational training which would overcome the defect, and of this dwarfing prejudice is far-reaching. In both Northern and Southern cities the result is a serious limitation of the occupational field for Negroes, thus robbing them of better income and depriving the community of a large supply of valuable potential labor. Examination of occupational statistics for Northern cities shows that from about three-fourths to about nine-tenths of Negro males engaged in gainful occupations are employed in domestic and personal service. Workmen in industries requiring skill are so well organized in the North that Negroes in any numbers must enter the trades through union portals. Only in late years, and frequently at the time of strikes, as in the building trades' strike of 1900, the stockyards' strike of 1904, and the teamsters' strike of 1905 in Chicago, has the Negro been recognized as a fellow-workman whose interests are common with the cause of organized labor. A large assortment of testimony lately gathered by Atlanta University from artisans and union officials in all parts of the country gives firm ground for the conclusion that, except in some occupations largely the building and mining trades, white union men are yet a long distance from heartily receiving Negro workmen on equal terms.

In Southern cities Negro labor is the main dependence and manual labor is slow to lose the badge of servitude. But for selected occupations in Southern cities between 1890 and 1900 the rate of increase in domestic and personal service occupations among Negroes was greater than those in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and than those in trade and transportation, if draymen, hackmen, and teamsters are omitted from the last classification. The occupations of barbering, whitewashing, laundering etc., are being absorbed by white men. The white firemen of the Georgia Railroad and Queen and Crescent Railway, struck because these companies insisted upon giving Negro firemen employment on desirable trains. These are indications of a possible condition when the desire of white men for places held by Negroes becomes a matter of keen competition.

An able writer on the Negro problem has asserted that in the South the Negroes can get any work "under the sun." But since an increasing proportion of modern industry is conducted in the shade, the Southern city Negro of tomorrow may find it as difficult to wedge his way into the better paid occupations as does his black brother in the North now.

When it comes to the question of business experience and opportunity, the sea is still thicker with reefs and shoals. A Negro who wants training and experience in some line of business that he may begin some enterprise of his own, finds, except in very rare cases, the avenues to positions in white establishments which would give him this experience closed. The deadline of his desire is a messenger's place or a porter's job. How can a porter learn to run a mercantile establishment or a messenger understand how to manage a bank? His only alternative, inexperienced as he may be, is to risk his meager savings in venturing upon an unsounded sea. Shipwreck is necessarily the rule, and successful voyage the exception.

The successes, however, in both industry and trade are multiplying, and with substantial encouragement may change the rule to exception in the teeth of excessive handicaps. There was an increase between 1890 and 1900 of 11.6 per cent of Negroes engaged in selected skilled and semi-skilled occupations in Southern cities. In 1910 the executive council of the American Federation of Labor unanimously passed a resolution inviting Negroes, along with other races, into its ranks. Some of its affiliated bodies have shown active sympathy with this sentiment, and have taken steps in different cities to bring in Negro workmen. All of eleven Negro inventors of 1911 were city dwellers. The "Freedmen's Bank," which had branches in about thirty-five cities and towns failed in 1873. During its existence it held deposits of over \$50,000,000 of savings of the freedmen. Although the confidence of the freedmen was shaken to its foundation, they have rallied and in 1911 there were 64 private Negro banks in the towns and cities of the country. Many of these are thriving institutions. There is no means of knowing the number and importance of other Negro business enterprises. But judging from studies of Negro business enterprises made in Philadelphia and in New York City, and from the widespread attendance upon the annual meetings of the National Negro Business League, substantial progress is triumphing over unusual obstacles.

3. *The Sequel in Health and Morals*

Crowded into segregated districts; living in poor houses for the most part for which they pay high rentals; often untaught and without teachers in the requirements of town life; walled in by inefficiency, lack of training and the chance to get the training; usually restricted from well-paid occupations by the prejudice of fellow-employees and frequently by the prejudice of employers; with a small income and the resulting low standard of living, the wonder is not that Negroes have a uniformly higher death-rate than whites in the cities and towns, but that the mortality is as small as it is and shows signs of decrease. Forced by municipal indifferences or design in many cities to live in districts contaminated by houses and persons of ill-fame; unable often to drive from their residential districts saloons and dens of vice; feeling the pressure of the less moral elements of both races, and feeling that weight of police and courts which the poor and the oppressed undoubtedly experience, the marvel is not that the criminal records outrun other elements of our urban population, but that impartial observers both North and South testify to the large law-abiding Negro citizenship, and to the thousands of pure individuals, Christian homes and communities.¹

In speaking of the Negro death-rate in Southern cities, Frederick L. Hoffman, who cannot be charged with favorable bias, said in 1906, "without exception, the death-rates are materially in excess of the corresponding death-rates of the white population, but there has also been in this case a persistent decline in the general death-rate from 38.1 per 1,000 in 1871 to 32.9 in 1886 and 28.1 in 1904." Data from other investigations for five Southern cities (three cities not included in Mr. Hoffman's studies) show results similar to his. Figures for the death-rate of Negroes in Northern cities are not available.

Infant mortality, tuberculosis and pneumonia are chief causes of the excessive death-rate. Negroes in cities have an excessive number of female breadwinners, and a large proportion of these are married women. The neglect of the child, while the mother is "working out" during the long hours of domestic service, and ignorance of child nurture are the ingredients of the soothing-syrup

¹ The writer has had to condense into a few clauses here the conclusions from a large amount of testimony and facts.

which lulls thousands of small children into the sleep of death. Undernourishment due to low pay, bad housing, poor sanitation, ignorant fear of "night air" and lack of understanding of the dangers of infection make Negroes the prey of diseases now clearly proven preventable. With an aroused public conscience for sanitation and adequate leadership in education on matters of health these conditions are gradually removable.

The mental and moral conditions of a people cannot be shown by case counting. Tables of criminal statistics are quite as much a commentary on the culture conditions of the whole community as upon the accused Negro. The best study of crime in cities showed that down to 1903 there was a general tendency toward a decrease among Negroes. Available testimony for Southern cities from the days of the Freedmen's Bureau superintendence down to the present time is decidedly in favor of the Negro, even under an archaic penal system. Personal observation for fifteen years during residence in and repeated visits to a score of the larger cities and a number of the smaller ones, leave the writer with a firm conviction of decided advancement. The intelligence and character demanded of ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers and other professional classes, the drawing of social lines based upon individual worth, the improved type of amusement and recreation frequently in evidence and similar manifestations are a part of the barometer which clearly shows progress.

4. The Sequel in Miscellaneous Conditions

To make the view of urban situation among Negroes full and clear, a number of conditions which exist in some cities but are absent in others should be included in the list. In many cities the sequel of segregation means less effective police patrol and inadequate fire protection; in others it means unpaved streets, the absence of proper sewerage and lack of other sanitary supervision and requirements.

The provision which people have for the play life of their children and themselves is nearly as important as the conditions of labor. Facilities for amusement and recreation, then, are of great importance to the Negro. Wholesome amusement for all the people is just beginning to receive deserved attention. But the Negro is

in danger of being left out of account in the movement. Playgrounds in Negro neighborhoods are so rare as to excite curiosity, and organized play is just being heard of in the Negro world. There is hardly a city where unhindered access to theatres and moving picture shows exists. In a few Southern cities "Negro parks" of fair attractiveness are being provided because exclusion from public parks used by whites has been the custom. Here and there enterprising Negroes are starting playhouses for their own people.

In the provision for education, the opportunity of the city Negro is much greater than that of his rural brother. Yet, while one rejoices over this fact, candor compels consideration of the relative educational chances of the black boy and the white one. Some of the Northern cities which have no official or actual separation in public schools may be passed without scrutiny. In others and in some border cities like St. Louis, Washington and Louisville, where there are separate schools, the standards and equipment for the Negro schools compare favorably. Also a large need of praise is due Southern communities for the great advance which has been made in public opinion and financial support for Negro education. Yet, in many cities, although local pride may apply names and give glowing descriptions, those who have seen the public school systems at close range know that they are poor compared with white schools in the same places. The bona-fide Negro public high schools in the cities of the South can be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Public schools all over the land have been tardy to the call of the educational needs of the masses of the people. The "dead hand" of past aims, content and methods of education still clasps many communities in its icy grip. It is well-nigh impossible to tell in a generalized statement the significance of this condition as applied to the city Negro. The hopeful sign of the situation is the awakening of the South to the need.

IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTION

The recital of the foregoing facts and conclusions would be of little consequence unless it led somewhere. The summary of the discussion presents a clear case of a large nation-wide Negro migration to towns and cities, such as is taking place among the entire people; a segregation within the city of Negroes into distinct neigh-

borhoods with a decreasing contact with the larger community and its impulses; accompanying housing, economic, health, moral, educational and other conditions which are more critical and are receiving less attention than similar problems among the white people. With such a problem before us, what should be done?

1. There should be an organized effort to acquaint the Negro in the country with the desirability of his remaining where he is unless by education and training he is prepared to meet the exactions of adjustments to city life. The roseate picture of city existence should be corrected. Simultaneously with the agricultural and other improvements of country life calculated to make its economic and social conditions more attractive should go an effort to minimize the activities of labor agents, employment agency sharks and the other influences that lure the rustics from home.

2. Recognizing that already more than two score cities and towns have large Negro populations in the first stages of adjustment, organized effort should be made to help the Negro to learn to live in town. The thoughtful white and colored people in each community will have to break the bonds of this increasing segregation and come into some form of organized community coöperation. The danger most to be feared is antagonism between the better element of both races, because they may not know and understand each other. The meeting on the high levels of mutual sympathy and coöperation will work wonders with prejudices and conventional barriers.

3. The coöperative movement of the white and colored citizens of each locality should work out a community program for the neighborhood, housing, economic, educational, religious and other improvement of the Negro. The time is at hand when we should not let this matter longer drift.

4. Such a movement should sooner or later become conscious of the national character of the problem and the towns and cities should unite for the exchange of plans, methods and experience and for general coöperation and for developing needed enthusiasm.

5. The Negro must have more and better trained leadership in these local situations. Slowly but surely we are listening to the lesson of group psychology and common sense and are beginning to use the most direct way of influencing the customs and habits of a people by giving them teachers and exemplars of their own kind. If the Negro is to be lifted to the full stature of American

civilization, he must have leaders—wise, well-trained leaders—who are learned in the American ways of thinking and of doing things. And it should never be forgotten that the Negro himself has valuable contributions to make to American life.

6. The final suggestion is that the white people of each locality can best foster mutual confidence and coöperation of Negroes by according them impartial community justice. This means "a square deal" in industry, in education and in other parts of the common life. It means equality of opportunity.

These conditions among Negroes in the cities arise as much from the many changes which are taking place in the life of the Negro as from the changes taking place in the life of the nation. The Negro is awakening to a race consciousness and to the consciousness of American citizenship. His migration is a part of his groping efforts to better his condition; he is trying to engage in industry and commerce and is accumulating wealth. Above the ruins of the slave cabin he is building homes. Upon the ash-cleared hearth of the chattel he is developing the sacredness of family relationships. Where once he toiled that the children of others might have leisure and learning, he is trying to erect schools and colleges for the education of his own. In lieu of the superstition and ignorance which savagery and serfdom had made his daily portion, the Negro is trying to cultivate an ethical and religious life beautiful in holiness and achieving in service. In these efforts for self-realization in the city the Negro needs the fair dealing, the sympathy and the coöperation of his white brother. For the problem of his adjustment is only a part of the great human problem of justice for the handicapped in democratic America.

CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

BY J. J. WATSON, PH.D.,

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The first thing to be kept in mind concerning the Negro church is that it is the only institution which the Negro may call his own. If he is a teacher he must be examined by the white school board, teach in a building owned by the white county officials, and receive his salary from the white superintendent. The same is true of the colored lawyer or doctor; he must receive from the white authorities his license to practice law or medicine, and this is granted under conditions formulated entirely independently of the Negro. But with the church it is altogether different. So long as the Negro conforms to the general laws of the state he is absolutely free to direct his church affairs as he sees fit. Error may be taught, immorality may thrive, and funds be misappropriated, all without feeling the pressure of any outside authority. A new church may be built, a new pastor installed, new members received and all the machinery of the church set in motion without ever consulting any white person. In a word, the church is the Negro's own institution, developed according to his own standards, and more nearly than anything else represents the real life of the race.

Another primary factor is the Negro's religious temperament. He has the simplicity of a child in the presence of the unseen forces of life, and readily yields to the demands of reverence and worship. Whatever is mysterious appeals to his uncultivated mind. In all matters concerning death and the future life his attitude is one of dread and gloom. His feelings are easily aroused, not so much by sight or thought as by sound. Whatever is weird or sad awakens an instinctive response in the bosom of the colored man. All of his songs and most of his preaching illustrate this primary fact; and the preacher who would teach his people must clothe his message in picturesque forms and deliver it in that peculiar sing-song voice so irresistible to the average Negro. Many times I have heard the better type of preacher trying to impress some message

upon his people with no response whatever until he abandoned the formal presentation and took up the weird swinging rhythm so dear to the hearts of his hearers. The effect is always instantaneous. It is like the words of an old song to a man far from home. The first note is sufficient to stir the inmost springs of his emotional life. It is this appeal to the emotions which makes the church and the religious ceremony so dear to the heart of the Negro. The church is the one place where he can pour out his heart and revel in the unchecked flow of feeling and sentiment.

The Negro is often criticised for this emotionalism, and the colored preacher blamed for appealing to it in his sermons, but it is very doubtful whether the race is at present prepared for anything else. In the best educated circles, of course, there are many who can enjoy an intellectual sermon; but congregations in which the educated class predominates are very scarce, and even in the large cities today the preacher who appeals to the emotions will soon win over to his church many of the members of his more scholarly brother in the next block. Few things in the colored ministry today are more pathetic than the struggle of a conscientious pastor trying to protect his people and prevent them from running off after some sensational preacher who has just come to town. This situation prevails wherever the Negro lives today, and in more than one large church in Philadelphia is a very pressing problem. Unless a colored preacher has some strong institutional organization or a very powerful personal attraction he is almost compelled to yield to this elemental demand of his race. He must first of all make them "feel good," and if in doing so he can impress some valuable truth he is fortunate.

The power of the emotional appeal has only been strengthened by the traditional training of the race. Through his whole history the Negro has been taught to fear the powers of the spirit world, the unseen forces have been held up to him as directing and controlling all his life, and from the days of the African fetich doctor until now the tendency of his religious teaching has been to keep alive the feeling of dependence upon the divine powers. His lot whether in Africa or in America has never been easy and his daily needs have driven him to look to some other source for comfort and help. The need of heaven as the place for the righting of all wrongs and the enjoyment of all things denied him here has been

ever present, and the church as the medium of attainment for all these desires has had a tremendous power over the life of the race.

Before the Civil War nearly all Negroes were members of the white church, and from their place in the rear or in the balcony listened to the same preaching as the whites. But with emancipation everything was changed rapidly. Separate colored churches sprang up everywhere, and the colored members rapidly withdrew from the white churches to join those of their own color.

In organization and administration these colored churches followed closely the forms of the white churches from which they sprang and which were their only models. As a rule the Catholics and Episcopalians have retained their colored members as regular members of the white churches. The Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Northern Methodists have allowed them to form separate churches under control of the whites. The colored Baptists, however, and most of the colored Methodists have formed churches entirely independent of white control, a fact which largely accounts for the larger numbers in these denominations.

The people as a rule love the freedom of their own institutions, and the colored preacher has not cared or has not been able to conform to the more strict requirement of a church controlled by the whites when the doors of his own independent church are open to him without any specific training or ability on his part. There are of course in the Methodist and Baptist church many educated preachers, and the number is increasing, but there can be no doubt that as a rule the better trained men are in the other denominations. In the colored Presbyterian or Congregational church today one will usually find a well-trained preacher, conducting an orderly service very much after the fashion of the white church, but almost invariably with a small congregation. If one would see the typical Negro congregation he must go to the Baptist or Methodist church perhaps on the same block. Here he will probably find a preacher with mediocre ability and training, following the traditional lines of preaching, but with a house full of people from all classes of life. As a distinct institution, therefore, there can be no doubt that the Baptist or Methodist is the typical Negro church.

At the beginning of the war the total number of colored church members was perhaps 700,000, of which the Baptists claimed 350,000 and the Methodists 270,000, most of whom were still in the white

churches. Today the colored Baptists have their own local associations, state conventions, and the national convention formed as early as 1886. They report for last year 17,000 churches, 12,000 ministers, and 2,000,000 communicants. The colored Methodists have had a similar growth, and today the five separate branches report a membership of about 1,500,000.

This complete separation opens up to the ambitious preacher an opportunity not found in the churches under white control. It has the advantage of developing initiative on the part of both pastor and people and trains them in the habits of self-control as nothing else in the reach of the race. But it has also been attended with certain definite evils. The freedom from white supervision has at times encouraged excesses which are harmful to all. The Negro, like most of us, loves the spoils of office, and the titles of the ministry have a peculiar fascination for him. To be called "reverend" is the joy of his life; he will do almost anything to secure the title of "D.D.," and if by any means he may become "president" of some Baptist body or "elder" or "bishop" in the Methodist church, the dream of his life has been realized. In this he differs very little from some of his white brethren, but the possibility of securing these honors has been a peculiar temptation to him. He has often prostituted religion to personal ambition, and the highest offices have been too often bestowed upon men of unworthy character who were able by political astuteness to control a majority. To verify this one has only to have a confidential talk with almost any colored preacher following some important church election. The evil is a definite one and is to be remedied not by taking from them the privilege of conducting their own affairs but by raising the standard of character throughout the rank and file of the race.

The Negro church can hardly be said to have a theology. The teachings of the colored pulpit are the traditional doctrines of the white church handed down through white teachers and fostered by current commentaries available for the colored preacher. The care of God for the needy, the substitutionary atonement of Jesus, the verbal inspiration of the Bible are the main lines of theological thought. These things the average preacher accepts without making any effort to establish their truth or falsity. What the average negro wants is not to test the truth of a proposition but to preach an "effective" sermon. He is willing enough to accept what others

have said as true so long as he can use it effectively. I have talked with many of the best trained preachers of the colored church and I have yet to find one who in any way is bothering himself with the current problems of theology. One of these men told me that it would do no good to keep up with current questions as his people were not interested in them and could not profit by their discussion. What pleases the average congregation is the recital of the Bible stories, and the preacher usually conforms to this demand.

Then too the various questions which divide the white congregations have very little real meaning for the Negro. He joins the Methodist or Baptist church almost indiscriminately as one is nearer home, has a better building or a better preacher, or is made up of his associates. There is loyalty to one's denomination but it is not theological. The average Negro preacher never preaches a strictly denominational sermon and cares very little what his people believe so long as they become members of his church. All love the spectacular elements in the communion and the "baptizin," but care very little for what lies back of them. Only recently I saw a Baptist preacher conducting a Methodist protracted meeting in a Methodist church. The Methodist could not come; the Baptist was a good preacher; so why not use him? The Methodists saw no objection and supported him loyally.

In church administration the Negro is more original and often very effective. His primary problem is one of finances. The preacher may not care what his people believe; he may not even care what they do: but he must be vitally interested in the finances of the church. In this particular direction the Negro has been unusually active. New churches are constantly springing up and in most places they compare very favorably with the average white church. The old rude structures are giving way for the modern frame or brick building, nicely painted, furnished with modern pews, often with pipe organ and all that goes to make up a well ordered church equipment. Quite naturally therefore the problem of the church debt has come to be a standing burden for the colored pastor as is often the case with his white brother.

In addition to his church building the Negro is today spending quite a sum of money in purely altruistic endeavor. Hospitals and rescue homes are increasing; denominational schools receive most of their funds from the churches, and almost every colored denomination supports one or more foreign missionaries in the West Indies

and in various parts of Africa. These activities mark out the lines along which the church is working and are a distinctly hopeful sign, but they entail heavy expense upon a people poorly equipped to bear them. When these items are added to the regular church expenses and preacher's salary, the financial problem assumes very great importance and taxes the ingenuity of the most efficient pastor.

The first thing of course which the pastor must do to meet the demand is to get the crowds. To do this he must be able to make them "enjoy" the service by preaching sensational sermons. Nothing else is so effective in bringing the crowds, and in a way this is the most important factor in the pastor's work.

Furthermore he must not be too strict in discipline. Many of his best paying members belong to the questionable class and are known to be earning money in ways not approved by the teachings of the church. These he can not afford to alienate; it would ruin his church. And many a preacher has been forced to accommodate his teaching and administration to such persons when, if he had been free, his work would have borne a different stamp. On the other hand there are many according to the statements of some of their best men, who deliberately take advantage of this situation to bring into their churches a crowd of people who are willing to pay liberally to be let alone in their personal lives and who at the same time are willing to let the preacher alone in his own shortcomings. Just how far this is true no one can tell, but there can be no doubt that some of the pastors of the largest churches maintain their places because they have around them church officials who support the pastor in the toleration of moral laxness on the part of both pastor and people. They feel repaid by the fact that, by having a big church which contributes liberally, the pastor gets a prominent place in the denomination and the glory is reflected back upon his members. Perhaps there are very few pastors who do not feel the pressure of this condition, but while many are striving nobly against it many others seem to welcome it for the sake of their own ambitions. It is a place where the need of money and the love of power have become dominant.

The next great problem of the colored preacher is to meet the religious needs of his people. This would seem to be first, but one who has watched the work of the colored church is compelled to conclude that the question of finance comes first so far as any defi-

nite plans are followed. But the conscientious preacher finds among his people much need for the more personal activity of the minister and often his work in this particular is very effective. The Negro works all the week under discouraging conditions, reminded on every hand of his inferiority, ashamed of his racial history, and suffering for many things of which he is innocent. Too often ignorance and vice crowd out of his life what little of light might otherwise enter. So on Sunday the preacher faces his people knowing that most of them need encouragement and a glimpse of something better than they have known through the week. It is not surprising therefore that much of the preaching takes this form with the definite purpose of enabling the congregation to forget their grievances and, for a short while at least, to feel that there is some one who does care for them and who does not blame them for being black. This Sunday religion of the race is valuable if for no other reason than that it encourages and satisfies as nothing else does or can the often unexpressed hopes of the race. In the hands of an unscrupulous preacher, of course, the gospel of comfort degenerates into a disgusting effort to "stir up" the people. But on the part of their best men it brings to lives accustomed to harshness and injustice a glimpse at least of tenderness and love. In so far the Sunday preaching of the average Negro church is valuable. But when it comes to the actual religious instruction given and the motive power for better living it is very difficult to speak encouragingly or accurately. We so readily generalize concerning the Negro's life and know in reality so little about it. His actual religious life is bound up with all his activities and is exceedingly difficult to analyze. A few things however are evident.

Among a large number of older people both white and black there is the definite conviction that the present generation of Negroes is hopelessly degenerate, as compared with the devout life of the slave. One of the most common notes in present day preaching is that the younger set of Negroes can not be trusted, and that their religion is worthless. It used to be possible, say the older ones, to trust a member of the church, but now there is no difference. Church members and non-church members are doing the same thing—trying to get the advantage of the other fellow.

Part of this distrust is due to the well-known tendency to glorify the good old days of the slave. But part of it is well founded.

The younger Negro, faced with the sudden readjustment coming with emancipation, has not yet been able to find a secure moral or religious footing. He is engaged in a long, hard, struggle, in which he started with poor equipment. He has been asked to make the change from irresponsibility to responsibility, adopt a new standard of ethics and make it effective in his life, when his traditions and inclinations make that well-nigh impossible. If many of the first few generations fail one need not be surprised. We can only hope that the condition is temporary and that a new and educated generation will find religion and morals more vitally related in every day life.

On the other hand the church itself is largely responsible for much of the shortcomings of the younger set. All sorts of pressure is brought to bear in getting them into the church, very little test of fitness is applied, and the young member comes in feeling that if he has been "sorry" for his misdeeds, and will keep up his church dues, he is all right. There can be no doubt that church rivalry for numbers lies at the basis of much of this laxness, and if the younger set come in and remain without shaping their lives to the higher standard of religious duty, the blame is certainly not all with them. They are surrounded with evidences of laxity in the moral conceptions of the others and it is little wonder if they fail.

Then too there are many things now to detract from the interest in church life. The secret order bids for a large amount of the man's time, new avenues of entertainment are constantly opening, and with the growing distrust of the motives of the ministry which places such persistent emphasis upon money, tend inevitably to weaken the hold of religion upon the life of the race. So that one feels disposed to agree that in many cases the judgment is correct—the religion of the average young Negro and of many older ones as well is of very questionable value.

Just how conditions may be improved would be exceedingly difficult to say. But there is one avenue through which much improvement may be promised. The Negro is dependent largely for his advancement upon the example and encouragement of the whites. And one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of his religious development is what he feels to be the constant insincerity of the whites. It will do the average Negro very little good to learn that the white man has given a thousand dollars to convert the natives

in Africa while at the same time he is growing rich by exploiting his own colored employes. Strict justice and fairness on the part of the white church member will make it easier for the colored man to live up to his religious obligations.

Furthermore if vital Christianity is to prevail in the Negro's life he must have a larger part in shaping the policies under which he is to labor. After many inquiries I have found almost no instance where the colored ministers and leaders have been asked to take part in carrying out any program for civic betterment in their city or town. Usually the program is mapped out by the white leaders and after it has been put through the colored leaders are expected to bring their people up to the new requirement. On the other hand, some of the most hopeless conditions that I have seen prevail where the protests of the conscientious colored men have been constantly made against the presence of cheap dives in their community only to be ignored by the white political machine. It is hardly fair for a city government to permit wholesale temptations to be placed in the path of the Negro and then blame him if he falls. And I doubt whether there is anywhere a more pathetic instance of a losing struggle than is afforded by the futile efforts of a Negro mother to rear her children under the conditions prevailing in many Negro sections of our cities.

It is useless to criticise the Negro for the failure of his religion while the whites are making it impossible for it to be otherwise.

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

By B. F. LEE, JR.,

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The account of the organized effort for self-help among Negroes in this country, since the Civil War, is incomplete without at least a brief mention of the ante-bellum organizations which were the forerunners of later efforts, many of which have become national in scope. When we consider the difficulties that confronted the members of the National Negro Convention of 1830, the courage of the signers of the petition of 1780 and the desperate bravery that marks some of the slave uprisings we are forced to wonder at the pathetic failure of some of the attempts at organization among the freedmen of America since the Civil War.

The uprising of the slaves in New York in 1812 was the first of the ten slave insurrections recorded by American historians. There were eight insurrections among the Southern Negroes, some of which were well planned and led by men who were determined to achieve freedom at all costs. The names of "Nat" Turner, Denmark Vasey, "General Gabriel" and Peter Poyas lend a romance to American history that the later champions of freedom have scarcely equaled.

* The first organized effort among freedmen was probably the action of seven men at Dartmouth, Mass., who, on February 10, 1780, presented to the governor of Massachusetts Bay, a petition against the system of taxation without representation as practiced against the freedmen of New England. They asked that the benefits of the Revolution be extended to all free people regardless of color. Many of the later organizations among Negroes have had the same object in view, but the daring of the signers of this petition has never been surpassed.

The first national convention among Negroes, was doubtless the convention of freedmen which met at Philadelphia, September 15, 1830. It was the result of an effort on the part of Hezekiah Grice of Baltimore, to call together a group of representative free Negroes, to consider the various emigration schemes recommended to the American black men of that time. The organization adopted the

name of Convention of Colored Men. Among the leading spirits were Rt. Rev. Richard Allen, founder and bishop of the A. M. E. Church; Rt. Rev. Christopher Rush, one of the founders and first bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Connection, and the Rev. W. C. Pennington, a Presbyterian minister and noted scholar. Following a two days' discussion the convention endorsed the Canadian emigration plan, at the same time condemning the American Colonization Society and its West African effort. The conference adjourned to meet the first week in June, 1831. Little is known of the next conference except that several plans for the betterment of freedmen were discussed and that Hezekiah Grice, the founder, was not present. Mr. Grice was at Baltimore engaged in the formation of what was probably the first legal rights convention among Negroes in the United States. This association proposed to ascertain the legal status of the Afro-American freedmen. The white attorneys of that day refused to commit themselves on this dangerous question and the association, failing in its object, soon passed out of existence.

There were other conventions following that of 1831; there is an account of one held at Syracuse, N. Y., September 15, 1864, over which Frederick Douglass presided with the Hon. John M. Langston, Wm. H. Day, Jonathan C. Gibbs and Henry Highland Garnett among the delegates. Mr. Douglass in an address stated that the purpose of the convention was to "promote the freedom, progress, elevation and enfranchisement of the entire colored people of the nation." It was resolved at this conference to form an equal rights committee, whose function was to promote state equal rights leagues throughout the country. Several such bodies were formed during the latter half of the sixties; the first of these was the state equal rights congress of colored people of Pennsylvania, which met at Harrisburg, February 8 to 10, 1865. The Harrisburg meeting instituted a number of subordinate leagues and brought into the work men and women from all parts of the state. The branches soon became important factors of the conventions of colored men, whose influence extends to the present day. Wm. Nesbit, of Altoona, opened the convention at Washington, D. C., January 13, 1869. Joseph Bustill, of Philadelphia, presented a protest against the partial exclusion of colored people from the franchise after the passage of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A resolution was adopted during the session to petition the

Senate on behalf of the colored people. The establishment of an industrial and manual training school for Negroes at New Haven, Conn., was also recommended.

It is worthy of note that the first Negro anti-slavery convention was held at Philadelphia, June 4, 1832. The anti-slavery convention also condemned the West African colonization scheme, advised the colored people not to emigrate to Liberia or to Hayti, and endorsed the Canadian plan. A striking feature of this convention is that they recommended the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States to be read at all conventions: "believing that the truths contained in the former are incontrovertible and that the latter guarantees, in letter and spirit, to every freeman in this country all the rights and immunities of citizenship."

The period immediately following the Civil War shows very little activity among Negroes on an independent basis. The convention of colored men continued its sessions at irregular periods, and several local associations with the same object in view came into existence during the latter part of the sixties. The early reconstruction days were times of coöperation between the Northern white sympathizers and the Negro. The active men and women of the darker race gave the greater part of their energy to the more intensive work of helping their recently liberated brethren in the South. Political organization and local problems of adjustment consumed their time and under the new spirit of coöperation the national questions and the Negroes' grievances were considered with the help of white organizations. The independent Negro churches received great impetus during this period and new ones sprang into existence, Negro secret and benevolent orders came into being, and older ones added a large number of local orders in the South. The Colored Order of the Knights of Pythias was started in 1864, the Independent Order of St. Luke in 1867 and the United Order of Moses in 1868. The first Colored Y. M. C. A. was organized in 1866, and the first students' association in 1869. Wm. A. Hunton was the first colored international secretary. In 1881 the National Women's Christian Temperance Union started its work among colored women, Mrs. Jane Kenny, being the first superintendent. Mrs. Frances E. Harper followed her in 1883.

As a result of an inspiration that occurred to Mr. T. Thomas

Fortune, the Afro-American Protective League came into existence. Its first efforts were put forth in 1887 and within the year many local organizations were formed. The objects of the League were to protest against taxation without representation, to secure a more equitable distribution of school funds, where separate schools were maintained, and to fight legal discrimination and lynch law. They further proposed to assist in the emigration of Negroes from sections rendered intolerable for them through the conduct of the lawless whites. They proposed to help create a healthful sentiment between the two races and to promote the character and reputation of the colored people. At its inception the League was supported with a great deal of enthusiasm but the second year of its existence showed a discouraging lack of interest. In the national convention of 1890, however, 22 states and territories were represented with 141 delegates seated. The League took up the work of the older conventions which has continued to the present day passing to the Afro-American Council, the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The American Association of Educators of Colored Youth held its first meeting in 1889. "Any person in any way connected with the training of youth or engaged in the welfare of the race is eligible to membership." The subjects for discussion at the annual meetings included "Manual Training," "The College-bred Negro," "Disfranchisement," "The Teacher in Race Development," and "Industrial Training and Higher Education." Its officers and members included most of our noted educators and public spirited men and women. The names of Dr. Booker T. Washington, Mrs. Frances E. Harper, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and Mrs. F. L. Coppin appear on its reports. The Association offered the only means for many colored teachers to take part in the discussion of their school problems.

The colored press convention held its first great meeting at Washington, D. C., March 5, 1889. There were press conventions prior to this, but the deliberations of the body at this convention, the speeches, including the address of welcome by the Hon. John M. Langston, marks it as the real beginning of the organization. The majority of the Negro publications were represented and definite plans for the promotion of the Negro press were formulated. A statistical committee was formed to tabulate the Negro publica-

tions for permanent reference. The methods of Negro journalists were discussed. A remarkable feature was that several members owed their eligibility to the fact that they were employed on daily papers as correspondents and as reporters. There had been Negro press conferences previous to 1889; there have been conventions since then, but the convention at Washington was the first to bring forward practical plans for coöperation and advance among the Negro journalists of this country.

The Tuskegee Conference held its first annual meeting at Tuskegee, Ala., in 1890. The organization of the Negro farmers for mutual improvement and the study of better methods through these conferences has been a great boon, especially to the Southern men who lack the contact so necessary for advance in modern agricultural methods. As in other of Dr. Washington's efforts the conference is one of the most active organizations among colored people. Many other institutions for colored people hold conferences each year.

The National Association of Physicians, Dentists and Pharmacists of the United States of America was organized in 1895. Since that time it has extended its influence throughout the country. Papers on technical subjects, social aspects of medicine, the physician and the community and other social and ethnic problems are read. Colored physicians and laymen attach great importance to the deliberations of this body. The good work accomplished through its conventions cannot be overestimated. Dr. N. F. Mossell, founder of the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital, Dr. Daniel H. Williams, noted physician and surgeon, and Dr. E. C. Bentley, of Chicago, Ill., are among its members.

The first meeting of the National Federation of Colored Men was held at Detroit, Mich., in 1895. This Federation was formed for the social, economic and political uplift of the colored people of the country. It is practically committed to the Republican party. The leading spirits in it are members of the legal profession. Its influence has not been so extensive as was at first predicted, though many local Leagues are doing effective work, but the alliance of these is not a close one.

It is difficult to conceive of a more important organization than the National Association of Colored Women and its branches. The Association was founded in 1896. Some of its functions are the establishment of kindergartens, mothers' meetings and sewing classes,

the establishment of a sanatorium, and a general neighborhood welfare work. It is pledged to combat the "jim crow" laws, lynchings, and the convict lease system. About 800 local clubs report to the National Association of Colored Women. A list of 200 clubs was selected and it was found that the membership of the clubs listed was 10,908, that they had collected in two years nearly \$82,500, that the cost of the property owned by these clubs is nearly \$62,000, with a present valuation of \$113,332.25. Some of the local clubs have established reformatories, old folks' homes, day nurseries, working girls' clubs and social settlements. Among the studies reported by the locals were civics, art, literature, needlework and domestic science.

The American Negro Academy, founded 1895, is an organization perfected by Rev. Alexander Cromwell, of which Dr. DuBois is president. Hon. Archibald H. Grimke, Prof. Kelly Miller and Rev. Frank Grimke are among its members. The most important features of the academy, to the race, are the "Occasional Papers" series published and distributed by it.

Closely akin to the Academy is the American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1897. "The object of this society is to collect relics, literature, and historical facts, relative to the Negro race, illustrating their progress and development in this country. It is the ultimate purpose of this Society to secure title to a permanent home for its meetings and a safe deposit for its effects." Rev. Henry L. Phillips, Rev. Matthew Anderson and William C. Bolivar are among its members.

The National Business League is a chartered body founded by Dr. Booker T. Washington. The League is the most virile institution of a purely secular nature among Negroes of the present generation. Its first meeting was held at Boston in 1890. There are 11 state leagues affiliated with it, 221 chartered local leagues located in 32 states of the Union, Jamaica and the British West Indies. Including the chartered organizations there are 450 local leagues allied with the National body, 4 large national associations, the first of which is the National Negro Bankers' Association, which was organized in 1906; it represents 64 Negro banks, capitalized at \$1,600,000 with an annual business of \$20,000,000. The National Association of Funeral Directors was organized in 1907. Its members include men from all parts of the country. The value of their

business cannot be expressed in less than ten figures. Some idea of the importance of the National Press Association, organized in 1909, may be gleaned from the fact that there are 398 periodicals published by Negroes in this country, including 249 newspapers. There is also a western Negro Press Association that has done a great deal to stimulate the Negro journalist of the Western States. The Negro Bar Association, the fourth affiliated national association, was also organized in 1909 and includes among its members some of the foremost legal authorities of the race. The Business League, with its locals and four great associations, is the most extensive organization among Negroes. It represents the commercial, business and industrial activities of the race.

The National League for the Protection of Colored Women, organized in 1906, has important local branches in New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk. The objects of the association are the protection, industrial advancement and education of colored women. Its most extensive work is its free employment bureaus, neighborhood houses and rescue work. Many cases of preventive work among the colored women, through Mrs. Layten, secretary of the Philadelphia Association, are known to the writer. It is now one of the three affiliated bodies of the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes which was formed by a group of social workers and philanthropists of both races who were on the boards of the committee on urban conditions among Negroes, the National Association for the Protection of Colored Women and the committee for improving the industrial condition of Negroes in New York. The organization was perfected in 1911, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman is chairman and George E. Haynes, Ph.D., director.

The Negro race conferences have been held regularly since 1907. They are devoted to race adjustment and improvement through methods of self-help and to securing better opportunity by destroying unfair sentiment and laws against the Negro.

The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, organized March 5, 1907, is similar to the teachers association organized in 1889. It is a stronger organization and bids fair to live long.

The Colored Graduate Nurses National Association came into existence in 1908. Their conventions are devoted to the demonstrations of foods, local remedies and sick-room requisites, practical demonstrations and papers upon such subjects as "Visiting Nurses

in Public Schools," "Nursing Among Mutes," and "The Ideal Nurse," as well as papers by practicing physicians.

The colored musical and art clubs came together as a national association for the first time in 1908. Since then they have held regular conventions devoted to the advancement of music and art.

The National Association for the Advancement of the Negro is championed by a large number of white friends of the race. Though not strictly a Negro creation, its official organ, the *Crisis*, "A record of the darker races," is edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. The object of the Association is the lifting of the Negro through the destruction of the barriers of prejudice, the protection of those who suffer from unfair or brutal treatment and the extension of all educational facilities to include the Negro. The Association has many active local branches which meet local difficulties, calling in the national body when grave problems confront them. It was founded in 1909.

The National Business League decided at their annual meeting of 1909 to lend their influence towards the celebration of the emancipation of the American Negroes from slavery. Efforts were made to obtain a national appropriation for the celebration, but, failing to secure the necessary funds, state celebrations have been arranged, and several states have planned for expositions. The largest will probably be the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation from slavery to be held at Philadelphia in September, 1913.

In November, 1909, a young woman of Woodstown, N. J., Miss Abigail Richardson, conceived the idea of calling together the colored farmers of that vicinity for the purpose of improving their economic condition through a more extensive method of farming. The movement is known as the Country Farm Association, and has been a success from the beginning. They propose to "keep close touch on the market and cost of marketing; encourage the purchase of land; visit farms operated by colored men, and direct their study and method of record-keeping; demonstrate methods of farming on the few acres of land at the farmers' disposal; circulate farm bulletins; keep the people informed concerning local and national movements which affect the farmer closely; conduct corn, potato and tomato clubs; and arrange programs for the meetings of the farmers' association; direct the annual fair and exhibit and teach fundamental principles of farming to children."

In 1910, the Negro National Educational Congress was started

and the National Independent Political League held its first meeting in the same year. Besides the independents, the Negroes have a Democratic league and a Republican organization of considerable strength. Nearly every group of Negro voters has some kind of political club, organization or association.

Besides the institutions mentioned above, the Negroes of the United States have a large number of secret orders, some of which have attained the dignity of national organizations; for instance, The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the Order of Elks, and the National Order of Mosaic Templars. The great majority of the older secret organizations may be found among the colored people. Their importance is probably second only to the Negro church activities. The phenomenal growth of the Negro beneficial insurance companies is one of the signs of progress within the race; these institutions operate all over the country and give employment to thousands of black men and women. The Mutual and Provident Beneficial Company of Durham, N. C., the National Benefit Company of Washington, D. C., the Keystone Aid Society of Philadelphia, Pa., are good examples of Negro insurance companies of the best type. Law and order leagues, literary societies, Christian and educational congresses, professional and business clubs, trade guilds and labor unions, may be found in the Negro communities.

The Negro is well provided with national and state organizations for self-help. He has professional and business clubs, charity organizations, social settlements and centers, neighborhood clubs, benevolent associations and institutions devoted to social functions.

FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO PUBLIC HEALTH

BY S. B. JONES, M.D.,

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At the present time arguments are being brought forward by responsible, and sometimes by irresponsible, persons that the Negro race in the United States is fast dying out. In proof of this it is claimed that the race shows an increasing death rate, a declining birth rate, the influence of alcoholic and sexual intemperance, and, in particular, a racial predisposition to tuberculosis and pulmonary diseases. Now if accurate vital statistics of the whole Negro race in the United States for a century or more were procurable, it might be possible to determine whether this opinion is founded upon facts or not; for vital statistics, furnishing exact information concerning the birth rate and the death rate would enable impartial investigators to predict with tolerable certainty the survival or the extinction of this race of people.

But even this course might fail to give correct information, since, satisfactory though the statistical method might be, it should be remembered that behind and beyond its facts and deductions lies a vast territory, covered over with a maze of social and economic problems of vital importance to the Negro race and to the whole nation. An enormous infant mortality may conceal the criminal negligence of parents, the heartless indifference of municipalities, or an economic slavery depriving the infant of its right to be well born. Reading between the columns of figures setting forth a large death rate from tuberculosis, one may detect the tragedy of human tribute paid for the maintenance of city slums and alleys, for ignorance and poverty, for debauchery or for the ambition of youth that overestimates the physical means for its realization. In connection, therefore, with the vital statistics of the Negro race these human problems must be considered, for a resolute attempt at their solution is certain to change the interpretation that is now placed upon them.

No accurate statistics exist by means of which the health of slaves fifty or sixty years ago can be estimated. A common belief

prevails that during the period of slavery the death rate of the Negro race was less than that of the white race, its infant mortality lower, and its specific death rate from tuberculosis infinitely less. With certain limitations it is reasonable to suppose that this may have been true. No doubt the first generations, which had been sufficiently hardy to survive the dreaded Middle Passage and that first period of increased mortality incident to the acclimatization of a tropical people in colder regions, under the stimulus given to the production of a marketable product—human flesh—excelled the white race in fecundity. A life in the open air, cabins with wide fireplaces allowing for thorough ventilation, the nursing of children by their own mothers tending largely to a low infant mortality, a religious exaltation and unfaltering optimism—all these were causes which, in the absence of definite statistics to the contrary, might go far to justify the conclusion of Hoffman that "the higher rate of increase of the colored population during the period preceding the war would indicate that during slavery the mortality was not so high, at least not in the United States, as it has been since emancipation."

In the light of modern knowledge the comparative absence of tuberculosis among the Negroes can be easily explained. The masses of Negroes did not come into contact with their white masters in their houses, and were consequently not exposed to the germs of that disease which is preëminently a house disease. The only portion of the slave population which might acquire the disease was the house servants, who were in constant association with them, and whose children might carry the malady in a latent form which would terminate as they grew older into the severer type or undergo a natural cure. For economic reasons such persons of the slave population as contracted tuberculosis were forced to work, and this brought about speedy death or happily resulted in a process of healing.

The following statistics in regard to health conditions among Negroes during that time are interesting and instructive: In the war period, 1861-1865, there were examined 315,620 white recruits and 25,828 colored for enlistment in the army. The number of rejections of white recruits exceeded that of colored in all forms of diseases, the figures being 264 as against 170 per thousand. In the case of consumption the rejections of white recruits exceeded those of colored recruits, the figures being 11 in the white to 4 per thousand in

the colored. But the rejections of colored in the case of syphilis exceeded that of the white, the figures being 7 to 3 per thousand; and in scrofula 3 to 2 per thousand. Dr. Buckner, quoted by Hoffman, states that of the 1,600 Negroes examined by him, "very few were rejected, not perhaps more than 10 per cent. Tuberculosis is very rare among them."

Right here a few deductions may be made. The excess of scrofula is highly significant, for the modern physician knows that it is simply a mild form of tuberculosis affecting the lymphatic glands. It is the forerunner of the more serious forms of the great white plague. The white race had reached the point where it was to acquire a comparative immunity from tuberculosis; the black race must now in its turn pay the price which all civilized nations and races had paid for progress and the varied activities of city life. With the tuberculization of the black race its mortality rate will increase until it also reaches at a later day a comparative immunity.

With the close of the war a new era began. The white race resolutely faced reconstruction with the usual courage and energy of Anglo-Saxons determined to win a victory from every defeat. Four circumstances were in its favor: it had advanced far enough to acquire a partial immunity against tuberculosis; the menace of syphilis was growing less; its death rate was decreasing; its birth rate was rising. For the Negro race it was a time of storm and stress, of unsettled political tendencies, of chimerical ambitions and social unrest. Economic distress by lowering its vital resistance made it an easy prey for the inroads of disease, which increased continually because of ignorance and of poverty, of ill-advised schemes of emigration and of overcrowding in large cities. A high infant mortality was the result. The fecundity of the race was diminished while that of the white race increased. Rickets became the characteristic infantile disease of the race; pulmonary tuberculosis of its youth. It was the period of scanty hospital facilities and inadequate medical attention. To the physical discomforts of disease was superadded a nervous tension as the race, with varying success, strove to adjust itself to the larger life of individual and racial freedom.

Such were the conditions which, for about the space of twenty-five years after emancipation, confronted the American Negro. The succeeding twenty-five years is the period of vital education or, in other words, of practical education directed towards the things of

life and marked by the founding of industrial schools throughout the South which accomplished incalculable good in the direction of public and private hygiene. By their insistence on the common things of life like tooth brushes, bed linen free from vermin, water and soap, suitable hours of rest and work, advice of competent medical authority in times of illness, they undoubtedly decreased the death rate among the youth of the race directly and indirectly affecting the death rate at large. By their community work they improved the conditions of the people about them. Under their influence good homes were built; family relationships became more stable; while concubinage and promiscuity, though still existing, were placed under the ban of the moral law. As a *modus vivendi* out of the political situation was found, the apprehensions of the Negro became less, and he vigorously directed his attention towards securing his share in the improved economic prosperity of the South. Under these circumstances the mortality rate is expected to decline, and it does decline. It decreases from 30 per thousand in 1900 to 24 per thousand in 1910. At the same time the population increases 11.3 per cent without the help of immigration, an increase which Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of the bureau of the census, describes as a rate "equal to that of representative European countries." And when it is remembered that the bureau of the census estimates that the death rate in the country districts is about two-thirds of that in the cities of the registration area, the conclusion of Hoffman, for the present at least, cannot be true that "the mortality rate of the race is on the increase."

It was the period also in which more distinctive agencies for the reduction of Negro mortality appeared: colored medical schools and hospitals and nurse training schools were established; Howard, Meharry, Leonard and Flint sent out their graduates to reduce the death rate. These men and women were teachers of hygiene as well as practitioners of medicine. At times they had to perform the duties of nurse as well as physician. Regarded with suspicion in the earlier days, they steadily overcame the prejudice of their own race, in many cases being given the helping hand by Southern white physicians, and so were enabled to perform a mission which no other than Negroes could satisfactorily perform. The late president of the Virginia state board of medical examiners once said to one of these men: "It is the colored physician who can best serve the

colored people. We can help, but not as much as the colored physician." The 909 physicians in 1890 increased to 1734 in 1900 and now probably number over 3600. Equally active in the reduction of the mortality rate has been the trained colored nurse. Not only to her own race has she been of service, but also to the white race. Freedman's training school for nurses established in 1862 has been followed by the founding of more than 65 hospital and nurse training schools in thirteen Southern, four Western and three Northern states. In Birmingham, Ala., in Chicago, Ill., in Norfolk, Va., in Wilmington, N. C., visiting nurses are assisting in the reduction of the mortality rate by attending the sick, by advising those who are well as to the methods of preventive medicine, and in a few instances conducting classes in home nursing for the older girls in the public schools.

Within the last five years attention has been directed specifically towards the reduction of the high death rate. Negro physicians and teachers, some enlightened pastors, graduates of literary and industrial schools, are all united in the determined efforts they are making to reduce the Negro death rate, especially the death rate from tuberculosis. Splendid assistance and generous coöperation have been extended by white physicians and public health officers who, by lectures to schools and churches are emphasizing, as never before in the history of the nation, the importance of public health to the Negro.

At first this progressive movement took shape as anti-tuberculosis leagues, formed mainly through the efforts of Dr. Wertenbaker of the Marine Hospital Service in several of the Southern States; but its scope is being enlarged to include health clubs in which are discussed problems relating to disease, sanitation, insurance and public health. Admirable work in this direction is being done by the annual conferences at Atlanta University, Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Greensboro, N. C., has a model health club and gives advice to all students who are anxious to establish similar clubs in their communities. As a whole the school superintendents are active leaders in this movement; and the time is fast approaching, if it has not already arrived, when health talks in the public schools by teachers or physicians will be held to be as important as the lesson in arithmetic, the caning of chairs or the making of bread.

In spite of this favorable outlook there still remain several important problems claiming attention. Undoubtedly tuberculosis is the greatest of these. Viewed at a long range it is not as serious as may be thought, being reducible to the general formula of problems which races must encounter in their upward advance towards civilization, a process which usually involves a large death rate. The immunization which civilized races have obtained through this process has not yet been carried sufficiently far to protect the Negro; but there are signs of improvement even in this direction, for the death rate per hundred thousand in the registration area in 1890 was 546; in 1900 it was 485; while in 1910 it fell still lower to 405. Though primarily a problem of public health, it is also one of sociology, since the restriction of the Negro to certain areas in cities where housing conditions are bad, the limited choice of occupations and intemperate habits, all tend to increase the death rate from tuberculosis. But notwithstanding these discouraging features it seems probable that the tuberculization of the Negro has already reached its maximum and with the application of the remedies of various social agencies a decline in the mortality rate from this disease may now be confidently expected.

The problem of infant mortality is also a grave one. For improvement in this respect one must look to the forces of education which are at work for the establishment of permanent family life, for knowledge of the laws of hygiene, for public health officers who will insist on improvement of sanitary conditions in Negro sections of large cities.

The problem of hookworm infection has proved to be a negligible one. Dr. Wyckliffe Rose, administrative secretary of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, states that "all statistics thus far go to show that the infection is much lighter among the colored population than among the white. There seems to be some degree of racial immunity. The men report excellent coöperation on the part of the colored people. They have examined the students in many colored schools and have examined and treated many colored people at the dispensaries." However, the commission appointed by the National Medical Association of Negro Physicians to investigate the prevalence of this disease among the colored people insisted that while it is true that the large part attributed to the race in the

spread of the disease was incorrect, the special problem was a part of the larger one of sanitation and preventive medicine.

The problem of venereal diseases is extremely important, nor is it one which may be lightly disregarded. It has provoked much discussion among Negroes and members of the other race. "The Negro and His Health Problems," by Dr. J. Madison Taylor (*Medical Record*, September 21, 1912) and "Venereal Diseases in the Negro, with Special Reference to Gonorrhea," by Dr. John C. Rush (*Medical Record*, May 31, 1913) are articles which would have been more valuable to the scientific student had the comparative method been employed, and the problems of the Negro considered as part of the general problems of the human race and subject to the same laws of social development. Interesting discussions might arise out of the two articles, but this is not the time nor the place for such. The curious reader, confining himself strictly to the question of venereal diseases among Negroes, might compare with these Dr. Wolbarst's article in the *Medical Record* of October 29, 1910, from which it will appear that these are particularly human, and not racial, problems with which the whole nation is called upon to deal.

That the danger is not underestimated even by Negroes is apparent from the statement that "there is among Negroes a constant excess of venereal disease among unsuccessful applicants" for the United States Army. Coming from such a responsible source as the volume on *Health and Physique of the Negro American* (No. 11, Atlanta University Publications, p. 68), this statement deserves serious consideration. From the medical point of view its prevalence among enlisted men points to the syphilization of the race as one of the prices it must pay for entering upon the heritage of civilization; from the sociological it is an omen of grave import to the race and the nation at large. The remedy lies in such measures as are being taken to combat these diseases among the white race: instruction in sexual matters to the youth, as advocated by the American Federation of Sex Hygiene; an awakened public conscience; and a pride of race which holds of paramount importance the physical interests of the generations that are yet unborn. Fortunately there are already signs of progress. In several of the Southern colored colleges regular and systematic lectures are given by the college physicians on this vital subject, and the students are shown the perils of extra-conjugal sexual relations. The remedy proposed

by Dr. John Rush of Mobile, Ala., is the one that will commend itself to thinking Negro educators and physicians. He says:

Do away with so many creed teachers and give them teachers on sexual psychology and hygiene, beginning from the time they are twelve years old, and taught until their education is finished. It is a great pity that some of the large-hearted philanthropists who bequeath fortunes for the education of the Negro do not specify that about one-half of the amount donated be used in establishing such courses of study. Not only should these branches be taught in Negro schools and colleges, but in the institutions of learning for our own young people. This has been the fault in our white schools and colleges, not only in the South, but all over the United States. They have failed to teach young men how to live, and by this I mean they have allowed them to go on ignorant of the sexual side of life except as it could be learned from a fellow-student's personal experience.

To sum up: In the course of the past fifty years the Negro race has had to contend against the hostile forces of ignorance, poverty and prejudice while adjusting itself to the new conditions imposed by the life of freedom, and consequently its mortality rate has been excessively high, due largely to pulmonary tuberculosis and infant diseases; but now a marked improvement is apparent, and its mortality rate is declining with that of the general population. With this conclusion the recent report of the United States bureau of the census agrees. In Bulletin 112, *Mortality Statistics 1911*, the following gratifying statement of the progress made in this direction occurs:

The differences between the death rates of the native white population of native and foreign parentage and the foreign born white population should not be interpreted as essential racial differences, but rather as due to economic and other social causes. The same reasons may explain the high death rate of the colored or Negro population as compared with the white population. The death rate of the colored population of the registration area as a whole in 1911 (23.7 per 1,000), although much higher than that of the white population (13.7) is lower than the rates of the great majority of European countries up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century and could undoubtedly be reduced to a figure which would more closely approximate, if not equal, the death rate of the white population.

Various agencies are at work in promoting better conditions of public health: there are the literary and industrial schools, skilful Negro physicians, trained nurses and devoted teachers, interested state boards of health, and an enlightened public sentiment.

It is true that great problems still remain, such as those of

tuberculosis, an excessive infant mortality and venereal diseases, yet just as the nations of Europe survived these dread scourges with far less knowledge of sanitation among their wisest scientists than is possessed by many a Negro school boy or girl today, so the chances of the survival of the race seem exceptionally hopeful.

As economic prosperity increases, a decline in the city birth rate is to be expected, as is the case with the most progressive and civilized nations of the world; but no evil results are to be apprehended from this in view of the present declining death rate and a rural population actively settling the farm lands of the South, and, as is customary with such a population, steadily increasing in fecundity.

Who fears to face another fifty years with all these forces at work for the permanence of the race? Only the pessimist doubtful of the value of education. Under that banner the best for the Negro race has been accomplished while the battle cry changed from books to tools, from classrooms to workshops, from the theoretical to the practical. Now another battle cry is sounding louder and more insistent: it is the battle cry of physiological teaching directed towards the prolongation of life and the diminution of human suffering, for without sound health the finest classical education and the most useful industrial training avail nothing. The battle is being fought with united armies on a territory where all may operate—the field of public health. The need of the hour, so far as Negroes are concerned, is for systematic and organized effort directed towards the problems of sanitation and public health in all colored schools and colleges, in all churches and communities, in fraternal societies and in private families. It is not too much to expect victory for a race, which, in fifty years, has reduced its illiteracy from an estimated percentage of 95 to one of 33.3 as given by the census figures of 1910. Let the teaching of general elementary physiology, including sex physiology, and sanitation be placed on a rational basis in all colored schools and colleges, in the hands of men and women thoroughly trained and with full knowledge of the health problems named above, and there can be little doubt that the issue of the conflict will be such a rapidly declining death rate and reduced morbidity as will astonish the civilized world.

NEGRO HOME LIFE AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

By ROBERT E. PARK,

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Before the Civil War there were, generally speaking, two classes of Negroes in the United States, namely free Negroes and slaves. After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, the plantation Negroes remained, for the most part, upon the soil and formed a class of peasant farmers. This class, which represented 80 per cent of the race, constituted the base of the social structure, so far as such a thing may be said to have existed at that time, among the members of the race. Above this there was a small class composed in part of free Negroes, in part of a class of favored slaves, all those in fact whom education, opportunity or natural ability had given material advantages and a superior social position. It was this class which took the leadership directly after the war.

In recent years the number of occupations in which Negroes are engaged has multiplied and the area of the Negro's activities, except perhaps in the realm of politics, has greatly extended. The descendants of the free Negroes and of those slaves who started with superior advantages directly after the war have gone very largely into the professions. They are lawyers, physicians, teachers, musicians, playwrights and actors. One of the highest paid performers on the vaudeville stage today is a colored man. Several of the most successful composers of popular songs are colored. Others are engaged in various kinds of social service. They are missionaries to Africa, secretaries of Young Men's Christian Associations, social settlement workers, and so forth. In almost every instance it will be found that the men and women who have gained distinction in any of the professions mentioned were the descendants either of free Negroes or of a class which I have called favored slaves.

In the meantime there has grown up in recent years a vigorous and pushing middle class, composed of small contractors, business men of various sorts, bankers, real estate and insurance men. The two largest fortunes left by Negroes of which we have any record were made in real estate speculations. Thomy Lafon, who died at

his house in New Orleans in 1892, left a fortune which was appraised at \$413,000 and Colonel John Mackey, who died in Philadelphia in 1902, left property which was valued at \$432,000 and was probably worth very much more, since a large part of it was coal and mineral land in Kentucky.

At the same time, from among the peasant farmers, there has grown a small class of plantation owners. These men farm but a small portion of the land they own, and rent the remaining to tenants, to whom they stand in the position of capitalists. Usually they will run a small store from which they make advances to their tenants. Although there were, among the free Negroes of the South before the War, a certain number who owned large plantations, and some who owned slaves, the Negro plantation owners in the South today have been recruited almost wholly from the ranks of the plantation Negroes. They represent, in other words, men who have come up.

The growth of a Negro middle class, composed of merchants, plantation owners and small capitalists, has served to fill the distance which formerly existed between the masses of the race at the bottom and the small class of educated Negroes at the top, and in this way has contributed to the general diffusion of culture, as well as to the solidarity of the race.

Although the distinction between the upper and lower strata of Negro social life is not so clearly marked now as formerly, the descendants of the different types of antebellum Negroes have preserved, to a very large extent, the traditions, sentiments and habits of their ancestors, and it will contribute something to understanding the social standards, the degree of culture and comfort which the Negro peasant, the Negro artisan, business and professional man enjoy today to take some account of those earlier, ante-bellum conditions out of which they sprang.

The great majority of the slaves were employed in only the crudest forms of unskilled labor. They were field hands, working under the direction of an overseer and reckoned, along with the stock and tools, as part of the equipment of the plantation. Under these circumstances the amount of general culture and knowledge of the world which they obtained depended upon the extent and character of their contact with the white man and with the outside world. This differed greatly in various parts of the country. There

was perhaps, no part of the South where the plantation Negro grew up on such easy and familiar terms with his master as in southwestern Virginia. Here the farms were small; the crops were varied; servant and master worked side by side in the field and lived upon an equality rarely if ever seen in the states farther South. The effects of these ante-bellum conditions may be clearly seen today. There is no part of the South, perhaps no part of the United States where the small Negro farmers are more independent and prosperous, or where the two races get on better together, than, for example, in the region around Christianburg, Va.

The homes of the Negro farmers in this region would be regarded as comfortable for a small farmer in any part of the country. They are frequently two-story frame buildings, surrounded by a garden and numerous out-buildings. The interior of these homes is neat and well kept. They contain a few books, some pictures and the usual assortment of women's handiwork. A general air of comfort and contentment pervades the homes and the community. Nearby there is a little six months country school. You learn, also, that one or two of the children have completed the course in the public school and have been sent away to a neighboring academy to complete their course.

The contrast between one of the homes in this part of Virginia and a similar home in a region like the sea islands, off the coast of South Carolina is striking, particularly if you have come, as was true in my case, almost directly from one to the other. In the sea islands the slaves were more isolated than in almost any other part of the South. The result is apparent in the condition and lives of the Negro people today. Outside of the towns they live, for the most part, on little farms of ten and twenty acres which were sold to them by the federal government directly after the war. These homes are quaint little nests, often curiously improvised to meet the individual necessities of the household. The people are on the whole densely ignorant, but possess a shrewd and homely wit that makes conversation with them an interesting exercise. Among themselves they speak a dialect that is scarcely intelligible to an outsider and they have many quaint and curious customs, some of which may have their source in Africa. Among other things peculiar to the people of these islands are there "prayer houses." These prayer houses are a local institution, older and different from the

churches, which were introduced after the Civil War. Connected with these prayer houses, also, there are religious forms and exercises, older and cruder than those practised in the churches. What is recognized elsewhere as a weakness of the Negro race, and perhaps of all isolated and primitive peoples, namely a disposition to cherish personal enmities, and to split and splinter into factitious little groups, finds abundant illustration here. There are probably more little churches, more little societies, and, if I can judge, more time and energy wasted in religious excitements and factional disputes among the people of the sea islands than in any similar group of colored people anywhere in the South. As is, perhaps, to be expected, where so much time and energy are expended in litigious and ceremonial excitements there is not much left for the ordinary business of daily life. In spite of this fact I am disposed to believe that the home life of the sea island people is more comfortable and quite as wholesome as that of the peasants in many parts of southern Europe which I have visited.

It was notorious, even in slavery times, that the up-country Negroes were superior to the coast Negroes, and this seems to be true today, even of those remote parts of the black belt where the Negroes are still living very much as they did in slavery times. I visited not long ago, one of these isolated little communities, situated on the rich bottom lands along the upper reaches of the Alabama River. The settlement consisted of, perhaps, a hundred families, who are employed during the year on one or two of the plantations in the neighborhood. Ordinarily, on the old fashioned plantations such as these, the tenants would live in the "quarters," as they did in slavery days, or in little huts scattered about on the land they tilled. In this case, however, owing to the fact that the cultivated land was so frequently inundated by spring floods, the tenants of each plantation were located on a little stretch of sandy soil which the spring flood never reached, although it often covered all the surrounding country. This stretch of sand is dotted, at convenient distances, with giant live oak trees, which afford a welcome shade and give the effect of a natural park. On this little sandy oasis are scattered at irregular intervals the homes of the people of the settlement. They are, for the most part, little rude huts with two or three rooms and a few outbuildings. Sometimes there are fruit trees in the garden in front of the houses, with a barn,

pig stys, hen yards, in the rear and on the other sides, the number of these buildings depending upon the thrift of the farmer.

Most of the people who live here have grown up in the settlement or have married into it. At one of the neatest of these little cottages I met a little withered old man, who proved to be the patriarch of the community. His memory went back, I found, to the time when this region was a wilderness. He knew the history of every family in the settlement. A large portion of them were, in fact, his children and grandchildren and he told me, in response to my questions, the whole story of the pioneers in this region and of the manner in which the land was cleared and settled. He himself had never been away from the plantation except for a few months during the war, when he ran away to Mobile. The little house in which he lived was the typical two-room cabin, with a wide open hallway, or rather porch, between the two sections of the house. The interior was rather bare, but everything about the house was clean and neat. A vine grew over the porch, a gourd hung from the beams, and a few trees were in blossom in front of the house.

The other houses in the community are much like this one, some of them even smaller. One of the more enterprising citizens, however, who was, as I remember, the only land owner, has erected a new four-room house. In this house there was a rug on the floor, a few pictures, most of them family portraits, some books, generally what are known as "race books," which contain uplifting accounts of the progress of the race. Besides these, there were several copies of a weekly farm paper, a few government agricultural bulletins and a large framed lithograph portrait of Booker T. Washington. Another thing which distinguished this house from the others was the possession of a screen door, a further evidence that the owner of the house was an exceptional person in this community.

The principal diet here, as elsewhere among the Negro farmers in the South, consists of fat pork, corn bread with syrup, and greens. In addition to this, there are on occasions eggs and chicken and perhaps tea and coffee. A really thrifty housewife, however, knows how to brew tea from herbs gathered in the woods, and at certain seasons of the year there are fish and game in abundance.

The budget of an average Negro tenant farmer as accurately as I was able to obtain it, worked out about as follows:

Rent, two bales of cotton and seed.....	\$150.00
Clothing for a family of six.....	76.75
Groceries.....	125.00
Physician and medicines.....	9.00
"Christmas money".....	15.00
Church and school.....	5.00
Average cost of fertilizer and farm equipment, feed for mule, etc.....	162.75
Total expense.....	543.50
Cash.....	56.50
Total.....	\$600.00

There is always room for a wide margin in these accounts. In a bad season or when cotton is cheap the value of the tenant's portion of the crop may fall far below the estimated income of \$600. With a good season it will amount to considerable more.

The average tenant farmer will spend as much money during the cropping season as the grocer or the banker who is advancing him will permit. An actual month's rations for a farmer of this class is as follows:

Chops, four bushels	} For mule and other stock.....	\$7.50
Oats, five bushels		
Flour, 50 pounds.....		1.95
Meal, one bushel.....		1.00
Meat.....		1.50
Lard.....		.50
Sugar.....		.60
Groceries.....		.95
Total.....		\$14.00

To this must be added \$4 in cash which will make the total cash of the monthly ration for a family of six, \$18. This ration will of course be supplemented by the products of the garden and of the farm. A thrifty farmer, however, can reduce the amount of his purchases at the store to almost nothing. He can raise his own cane and make his own syrup; he can raise his own fodder, and supply himself with pork and corn meal from his own farm. This is what he usually does as soon as he sets out to buy a farm of his own.

There has been great improvement in recent years in the living condition of the Negro farmers in most parts of what is known as the Black Belt. This is particularly true of those sections of the

country where the Negroes have begun to buy land or where they have come in contact, through schools or through agents of the farm demonstration movement, with the influences that are changing and improving the method and technique of farming throughout the South.

Wherever one meets a little colony of Negro land owners and wherever one meets a Negro who has risen to the position of farm manager, one invariably finds improvement in the character and condition of the Negro home. Whenever a good school is established it is usually the center of a group of thrifty Negro farmers. Not infrequently a Negro farmer, who has acquired a little land or a little money, will sell his property and move to another state or another county in order to obtain good country school accommodations for his children. Macon County, Alabama, for example, in which the Tuskegee Institute is located is said to have more Negro landowners than any other county in the South, and very many of these have come into the county during the past five or six years since an effort was made by the Tuskegee Institute to build up and improve the country schools in that county. A large proportion of colored farmers in Macon County live at present in neat four- and five-room cottages. The standard of living has been appreciably raised in this and neighboring counties.

Census statistics show that the number of Negro landowners is increasing throughout the South about 50 per cent more rapidly than the white. Ownership of land invariably brings with it an improvement in the stability and the comfort of the home. The number of large landowners and farm managers is likewise increasing. Recently I visited the house of a Negro "renter" in Georgia. He was, in fact, not the ordinary tenant farmer but rather a farm manager. He himself farmed but a small portion of the land he rented, subletting it to tenants over whom he exercised a careful supervision. He was a man who had never been to school, but he had taught himself to read. He was living in a large comfortable house, formerly occupied by the owner of the plantation. This man was not only a good farmer but, in his way, he was something of a student. Among his books I noticed several that had to do with the local history of the country during slavery times, which showed that he had an amount of intellectual curiosity that is rare in men of his class. This was further shown by his eagerness to

talk about matters of which he had read in the newspapers in regard to which he wanted more information. He had, as I remember, about \$5,000 in the bank and was looking forward to purchasing very soon the plantation upon which he was living.

I have frequently met Negro farmers, old men who had come up from slavery, who owned and conducted large plantations, although they could neither read nor write. One man in Texas, who owned 1,800 acres of land told me that, until recent years, he had carried all his accounts with his tenants in his head. Finding however, that, as he grew older, he was losing his ability to remember he had hired a school teacher to keep his accounts for him. Sometimes these men who have struggled from the position of peasant to that of a planter live in much the same way as their tenants. But the next generation is usually educated and learns to spend, even if it has not learned to make.

In the North, as might be expected, Negroes farm better and live better than they do in the South. One of the most successful farmers in the state of Kansas is Junius G. Groves of Edwardsville, Kans. Groves was born as slave in Green County, Ky. He went over to Kansas with the exodus in 1879. He started in 1882 to raise potatoes on a rented farm of 6 acres. He now owns 503 acres in the Kaw Valley upon which he raised last year a crop of 55,000 bushels of potatoes. With the aid of his sons, who were educated in the Kansas Agricultural College, Groves has applied scientific methods to his farming operations. By this means he has been able to raise his maximum yield on a single acre to 395 bushels. He has recently erected a handsome modern house which a writer in *The Country Gentleman* describes as "a twenty-two room palace overlooking a 503 acre farm." A farmer like Groves, however, belongs to what I have described as the middle class, composed of men who operate on a relatively large scale and with their own capital.

Although the great majority of the slaves were employed at work in the fields there were, on every large plantation in the South before the Civil War those who were employed as carpenters, stonemasons, and blacksmiths. In all the larger cities, also, there were a certain number of Negro mechanics who hired their own time and were given a good many of the privileges of the free Negroes. Negro slaves were also employed as sailors, as locomotive firemen, as well

as in other positions requiring skill and a certain amount of responsibility. Slaves of this class were better treated than the ordinary field hand. They were better housed, better clothed and better fed, and, with the exception of the house servants, were allowed more privileges than the other people on the plantation. At the close of the War, therefore, there were a considerable number of trained workmen among the former slaves. Of all the people who came out of slavery these were, perhaps, as a class, the most competent self-respecting, and best fitted for freedom.

In spite of this fact Negroes have probably made less advance in the skilled trades than in other occupations. The reason is not far to seek. With the growth of cities and manufacturing industries since emancipation, great changes have taken place in the character and condition of skilled labor in the South. The cities have drawn more heavily upon the white than the colored portion of the populations and, whenever there has been a change or reorganization in an industry, the poor white man has profitted by it more than the Negro. The cotton mills, the majority of which have been built since the war, employ almost exclusively white labor and it is only recently that Negroes have anywhere been employed as operatives in any of the spinning industries. In certain occupations, like that of barber and waiter, the Negro has been very largely crowded out by foreign competition.

Labor unions have almost invariably sought to keep Negroes out of the skilled trades. In those occupations, however, in which the Negro has shown his ability to compete and has managed to gain a sufficient foothold to compel recognition, as for example in the coal and iron industries, the timber and turpentine industries and, to a less extent, in the building trades, labor unions have made earnest effort to bring Negroes into the unions and have thus insured for them the same wages and ultimately the same standards of living as prevail among white artisans of the same class.

As a rule the Negro has made less progress in occupations in which he formerly had a monopoly, like that of barbering and waiting, than in new occupations into which he has entered since emancipation. Wherever Negroes have had to win their way by competition with the white man they are, as a rule, not only more efficient laborers, but they have invariably adopted the white man's standards of living.

There are, particularly in every large city as well as in every small town in the South, multitudes of Negroes who live meanly and miserably. They make their homes in some neglected or abandoned quarters of the city and maintain a slovenly, irregular and unhealthy sort of existence, performing odd jobs of one kind or another. Very few colored people of the artisan class, however, live in these so-called "Negro quarters." There are always other quarters of the city, frequently in the neighborhood of some Negro school, where there will be another sort of community and in this community a large proportion of the people will be composed of Negro artisans and small tradesmen. They will live, for the most part, in little three- or four-room houses and, if they happen to own their homes, there will be a vine training over the porch, curtains in the windows, a rug or carpet on the floor. The children who go to school will be neatly and tidily dressed. There will be a few books in the front bedroom, a little garden in the rear of the house and a general air of thrift and comfort about the place.

In the course of time, if the family continue to prosper, the children will be sent to a secondary or high school. The eldest will go away to a normal school or college of some kind, and the eldest boy will go, perhaps, to Tuskegee or some other industrial school. When these children return home they will sometimes go to work to earn money enough to help other younger members of the family to enter the schools which they have attended and thus, in time, the whole family will manage to get a moderate amount of education.

When all the members of the family work together in this way there are the best possible relations in the home. It is in those homes, of which there are unfortunately too many in every town and city, where the father works irregularly and the mother is compelled to do day labor, that one meets idle and neglected children, a large proportion of whom grow up to recruit the shiftless, loafing and criminal class.

As a rule the Negro artisan is thrifty. The following budget is that of a journeyman printer.

Living expenses.....	\$240
Clothing.....	60
Church and school.....	12
Medicine and medical attendance.....	16
Insurance, taxes and interest.....	84
Incidentals.....	48
Savings.....	150
Total.....	\$610

This man lives in a neat five-room cottage which he owns. His wife conducts a little store and in addition to his work as journeyman printer he conducts a little Sunday school paper. He is district superintendent of Sunday schools in the neighboring county, and employs his Sundays in visiting the Sunday schools under his charge and in circulating, incidentally, the paper he publishes, so that, at the present time, his annual revenue is considerably larger than his earnings at his trade.

Negroes who are employed in industries in which the laborers are organized, as for example the building trades and the coal and iron industries, earn more, but, perhaps save less. Negro miners earn frequently as much as from \$100 to \$150 per month. These men live well, according to their light, but they are notoriously wasteful and improvident and, except in those cases where their employers have taken an interest in their welfare, they have made little if any advance in their standards of living over the farm laborers or tenant farmers from which they, in most instances, are recruited.

Among the free Negroes in the South there were, in slavery times, a certain number of planters and slave owners. Some of the Negro planters of Louisiana were wealthy, for four or five of them were said in 1853 to be worth between four and five hundred thousand dollars each. Others were small traders, peddlers, blacksmiths, shoemakers and so forth. In some of the older cities of the South, like Charleston, S. C., there was a little aristocracy of free Negroes, who counted several generations of free ancestors and because of their industry, thrift and good reputation among their white neighbors, enjoyed privileges and immunities that were not granted to other free Negroes in the South.

Not only in Charleston but in Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, New York and New Orleans there were similar groups

of free colored people, who were well to do and had obtained a degree of culture that raised them above the mass of the Negro people, free or slave, by whom they were surrounded. Associated with the free Negroes were a certain number of privileged slaves who were frequently the illegitimate sons of their masters.

It was from this class of free Negroes and privileged slaves that, a little later on, the professional class among the Negroes, the lawyers, the physicians and to a very large extent the teachers, were recruited. It was not until after politics as a profession for Negroes began to decline in the South, that a number of men who had entered politics directly after the Civil War began to go into business. As they had, in many instances, either by inheritance or as a result of their savings while they were serving the government, succeeded in accumulating a certain amount of capital, they frequently went into some sort of real estate or banking business.

About 1890 the first successful bank was started by Negroes. There are now more than sixty such banks in the United States. Either in connection with these banks or independently there have been organized small investment companies for the purchase or sale of real estate and, as the demand for homes by Negroes of all classes has grown rapidly in recent years, the number of these institutions has multiplied.

As business opportunities have increased, the number of Negro business men has been recruited from the professional classes. Very frequently Negro physicians have started drug stores in connection with the practice of their profession, and from that they have gone into real estate or banking.

As the opportunities for Negro lawyers have been small, particularly in the South, most of them have connected themselves with some sort of business in which their legal knowledge was of value—real estate, insurance, saving and investment associations, and so forth.

One of the wealthiest Negroes in the South today started as a physician, made his money in the drug business and in real estate, and has since become a banker. The president of the largest Negro bank in the South, the Alabama Penny Savings Bank, was formerly a minister.

It is in this way that the ranks of the Negro business men have been recruited from the members of the educated classes.

However, the first Negro business men were, not as a rule educated. In the North, before the war, the most successful Negro business men were barbers and caterers. In the South, directly after the war several Negroes who had made small fortunes started in the saloon business. They had been employed, perhaps, as porters and bartenders and eventually went into business for themselves. There were special opportunities in the whisky business, because in the bar rooms whites and blacks met upon something like equality. It was not until recently that the regulators of the liquor traffic in certain cities required separate bars for the different races. Even now there is usually a back door for Negroes. Sometimes, where the bulk of the trade is supplied by Negroes, they have the front door and the whites the back.

In certain other business-like undertakings, in which Negroes have found that they could get better service from black men than from white, Negroes early found a business opportunity which they have since largely exploited. The wealthiest Negro in New York today is an undertaker.

A number of Negroes, who began as journeymen in the building trades, rose to the position of contractors and then became large landlords, living upon their rents. In one comparatively large city in the South the most successful baker and in another, the most successful fish dealer, are Negroes. These men have been successful, not because of any special opportunity opened to them, as in the case of the Negro physician and the Negro undertaker, but because they were enterprising, and knew how to handle the trade. Both these men do the larger part of their business with the white rather than with the colored people.

The president of the largest and most successful Negro insurance company in the South, the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, was formerly a barber. In most instances the successful business men have been men with very meagre education and very few opportunities. These pioneers, however, have made opportunities for others and they have accumulated an amount of capital and experience which has laid the foundation for an enterprising middle class, now rapidly advancing in wealth and in culture.

As soon as a Negro has succeeded in accumulating a little money, his first ambition is to build himself a comfortable home.

At first the Negro's attempts at home building are, as might be expected, a little crude. For example, if he plans his own house, he usually puts the bathroom off the kitchen. After he gets a bathroom he will probably want to have some pictures on the walls. The thing that strikes his fancy is usually something in a large gilt frame such as one can buy cheap in an auction store. Then he acquires a gilt lamp, an onyx table, perhaps, and a certain amount of other furniture of the same sort.

If, in addition to a comfortable income, he has gained a moderate amount of education, he wants to travel, and see something of the world. This disposition on the part of the Negro, whenever he can find excuse for it, serves, however, to correct his first crude attempts at home decoration and to widen his views about the value and convenience of a well-planned house. The numerous conventions which every year bring together large numbers of Negroes from all over the country provide an excuse for travel. The fact that it is difficult for Negroes to get hotel accommodations in many parts of the country put upon every colored man who has a comfortable house, the obligation of opening his house to every member of his race who comes well recommended. Some times Negroes who have been a little extravagant in building and furnishing a house are very glad to rent rooms to a select class of travelers. In any case, Negroes are naturally hospitable. They take a very proper pride in their houses, when they happen to have good ones, and are always glad to entertain visitors.

As a result of this custom of keeping open house Negroes are doubtless more disposed than they otherwise would be to take pride in the care and decoration of their homes. There may be something, also, in the explanation which one colored man made for building and equipping a home in a style which seemed a little beyond his means. He said: "We may have been, wife and I, a little extravagant in building and furnishing our house, but the house in which we were born had none of these things, and we are trying to make up to our children what we missed when we were little." The result of this is that for the Negro travel is often an education in home building. In every home he enters he notices closely and when he returns home he profits by what he learns.

Negroes of the better class not only travel a great deal in this country but a considerable number of educated Negroes go abroad

every year and from these journeys they bring back not only many new and happy impressions but also a considerable amount of information in the art of living that they do not have the opportunity to get at home. In the course of time all this experience and information filter down and are used by the well-to-do class of Negroes everywhere.

The number of really cultured Negro homes is, as might be expected, small. One reason is that thoroughly educated Negroes are as yet few in number. The handsomest home I visited was that of a physician in Wilmington, Del. This man was living in a fine old ante-bellum mansion with extensive grounds, which has recently sold, I have been informed, for something like \$50,000. This house not only had the charm of individuality, but it was furnished, so far as I am capable of judging, in perfect good taste. It contained one of the best general libraries I have seen in a private house. The mistress of this house was a graduate of Wellesley College. There are perhaps a dozen other houses owned by Negroes in the United States that could compare with this.

The entertainment in a Negro house is likely to be lavish. No matter how frugal the family may live at other times, there must be no stinting of the entertainment of guests. Not infrequently it will happen that a young colored man who has pinched and struggled to save money while he was getting an education, or while he was struggling to get himself established in business, will spend all his income as soon as he reaches a point where he is admitted into the upper grades of colored society.

One man, a physician in a northern city, with an income which averages between \$5,000 and \$6,000 a year, showed me his bank book covering a period of eighteen years during which time he had spent \$103,000. And yet this same man, during the time that he was working, sometimes as a school teacher and at other times as a house servant on a salary of \$25 or \$30 a month, had saved \$3,000 to put himself through college. Another young man told me that he had saved enough money as a porter in a Negro barber shop, while he was learning the trade, to buy a shop of his own but had lost it, when, after becoming the proprietor of the shop, he was admitted to what he called "society."

It is difficult to determine accurately the income of the well-to-do Negroes in this country. There are two and perhaps three

physicians whose incomes from their practice alone amounts to \$10,000 a year. There are several lawyers who make as much. A considerable number of men in business or in other professions make considerably more. As a rule, the business men save their money but men in the professions usually spend it.

The average income of a Negro physician in the South is not over \$1,500 but very frequently enterprising physicians will add to their regular earnings by maintaining a sanitarium or private hospital.

The most popular profession among the Negroes is, perhaps, that of teaching, one reason being that, in the past comparatively little preparation was required to enter it. Neither teaching nor the ministry is as popular as it used to be. One reason is the demand for men and women with better preparation; another is the poor pay. The better schools are, however, increasing salaries, particularly those of principals and of a higher grade of teachers. The following budgets indicate the standard of living among the better paid teachers:

1

Budget Estimate for Year.

Insurance, taxes, etc.....	\$168
Living expenses.....	384
Medicine and medical services.....	96
Clothing.....	144
Miscellaneous and incidental.....	66
Literature.....	42
Savings and investment.....	300
Total.....	\$1,200

Living expense does not include vegetables from garden or house rent, which is paid by institution.

2

Allowance to mother.....	\$120
Charity, benevolences and religious.....	150
Property.....	300
Groceries.....	300
Insurance { Life.....	86
Household goods.....	6 92
Upkeep of house.....	100
Education of sister.....	90
Clothing.....	275
Books, magazines and papers.....	25
Total.....	\$1,452

Fuel, light, house rent furnished by state. Total income between \$1,800 and \$2,000.

The first of these budgets is that of one of the better paid teachers of one of the best of the larger industrial schools. The second is that of the principal of another of these institutions.

Negroes of all classes are willing to make and do make great sacrifices to secure the education of their children, but in the upper classes, where the children are few, they are usually spoiled; while on the plantation, where they are many, the family discipline is likely to be severe.

Home life among the educated and well-to-do Negroes appears as a rule, to be happy and wholesome; but nowhere is this more true than in those families where the parents, though educated, the income is so small that all members of the family are impelled to work together to maintain the standards of living and secure for the children an education, equal, if not superior, to that which the parents have enjoyed.

The Negro has made great progress in many directions during the past half century, but nowhere more so than in his home, and nowhere, it may be added, do the fruits of education show to better advantage than in the home of the educated Negro.

RACE RELATIONSHIP IN THE SOUTH

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Perhaps the most difficult task which one ever sets for himself is an attempt to understand even imperfectly, much more difficult to trace with any degree of scientific accuracy, the feelings that lie behind any relationships of human beings who are brought into close juxtaposition in life. This is all the more difficult when the peoples brought into such relationship are of widely differing racial types. Here one has no statistics that are accurate, and it is even difficult to get men from either side to express themselves freely. Yet there are certain attitudes which come to the surface in thought and action, which enable the careful observer to sense this inter-racial feeling.

The attitude of the two races in the South towards each other naturally shows three types or tendencies, each corresponding to a rather clearly marked period of history in the development of the South. Of the first two of these attitudes we need speak but briefly.

The first period of race relationship in the South runs from 1619, the time of the landing of the first slaves by a Dutch trading vessel, up to the breaking out of the Civil War. It may be briefly characterized as an era of paternalism on the part of the majority of slave owners, and of faithful, childlike loyalty on the part of the most of the slaves. We are too far away from slavery, and see its evils too clearly to make any attempt whatever to justify it, or even to gloss over its hardships. But if we are to understand the present relations of the races, a word must be said about this earlier attitude. That this period was marked by good feeling on both sides in the vast majority of cases, I believe no honest investigator could doubt. The great mass of slaves were not owned by the big planters and worked in gangs driven by a cruel overseer, but rather they were distributed in small groups, on the small plantations, where they had a large degree of personal attention from both master and mistress. I have known

¹ The author of this paper is a Southern man, trained in a Southern university, and has travelled throughout the South during the last twelve years.

and talked with scores of these faithful slaves, and rarely have I found other than a feeling of deep love and loyalty to that generation of Southern white people, who, although, they were mistaken in the defense of slavery, nevertheless tempered their mistake with a most kindly heart.

These were the days before men's passions had been aroused, and when the better nature of most men—not all—was in the ascendency. This better nature expressed itself in many ways. For one, the Southern church assumed a definite responsibility for the Christianizing of the slaves. In 1860, at the breaking out of the Civil War, the Methodist Episcopal Church South had 327 white missionaries in the field working for the evangelization of the slaves, and the budget of that one church for that year for Negro evangelization was more than \$86,000. All the other Southern denominations were having a large share in this type of work. Bishop W. R. Lambuth, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who is one of the best authorities on the Negro, is now saying that one of the greatest pieces of missionary work the world has ever seen was the evangelization of the Negro in this first period of his slavery. This fact is significant to us here only as it shows us what the relation of the whites was toward blacks at this early period. On the other hand, the attitude of the Negroes was one of loyalty and affection—omitting, of course, those who were worked in large gangs under the cruel overseer. No better proof of the truth of this statement could be asked than the simple fact that during all the dark days of the Civil War the Negroes were entrusted with the lives, the property, and the honor of the Southern white homes—and no Negro was found faithless in this sacred trust. Such faithfulness and loyalty were not the fruit of hatred, but of love. If one visits some of the old plantations, with the "big house" and the long rows of whitewashed cabins which flank its sides—one can still find many signs of this kindly feeling between the races. But this particular relationship is gone forever, and we may well be thankful it is. Perhaps some will regret more that the feeling begotten by that relationship has almost as completely disappeared.

The second period of race relationship in the South may be called, for want of a better term, the period of reconstruction. This period extends from the close of the Civil War to the early nineties. It is marked by a growing distrust on the part of the white man, and a growing hatred on the part of the black man. It is one of those sad

and unfortunate periods when all men seem to be in a sense blind. The North felt that the South was attempting to forge a new chain of slavery for the Negro; the South felt that the North was trying to enslave the white man by putting the ignorant and inexperienced into the saddle of government; the Negro was the football between the two, hardly daring to trust the Southern man, scarcely believing in the sincerity of the Northern man—feeling himself ground between two relentless mill stones—and knowing not whither to turn. In all this dark period there are only two redeeming rays of light. One of these consists in the fact that the Negro was never denied a chance in the South to make an honest dollar. Whatever other injustices he may have suffered he was never denied the right to work, provided he had been trained, as most of them had, through the thousands of plantations which were highly practical trade schools. Dr. Booker T. Washington has said in a dozen different ways that the South is and always has been the Negroes' greatest field of industrial opportunity.

The second ray of hope in these dark days lay in the fact that both South and North realized that the Negro must be trained and made efficient. The North poured its thousands of dollars into mission schools, and added thereto scores of priceless and unselfish lives to bring the message, while the South as early as the seventies settled the question, once for all, that the Negro should have a chance for training. In the years that have passed the South has put multiplied millions of dollars into this enterprise which, however discouraging in the past, is now beginning to show signs of rich fruitage.

The terrible results of the period of reconstruction lay in the fact that the old feeling of love and loyalty, trust and helpfulness between Southern whites and Southern blacks was almost entirely broken down, and there was a severe separation of the Southern white man and the Southern Negro. The two grew apart and soon began to be ignorant of the thought and life each of the other. The old intimate relation of the two was gone and nothing took its place. It was but natural that this ignorance should soon breed contempt and later hatred.

This in a word characterizes the first two periods of race relationships. One says they are behind him; another does not care to dwell on them at length. There is no more pitiable piece of demagoguery going than that practiced by some who dwell exclusively on the past kindness of the white man, the loyalty of the Negro, and the horror of

reconstruction, forgetting the present duties that fall to each citizen whether white or black. These things are of the past—and let the dead past bury its dead. We are now interested in what the living relationship is between white and black in the South.

It was not until far into the nineties that the third period of this race relationship began to dawn. With the coming of such men as Chancellor D. C. Barrow of the University of Georgia, Bishop Charles B. Galloway of Mississippi—and, more definitely, with the coming of Mr. Edgar Gardiner Murphy of Alabama—whose book on the *Present South* marked a new era of thought—with the coming of these and others likeminded the new epoch was slowly ushered in. But even the last decade of the last century saw little progress, and the first half of the first decade of our present century was scarcely more than the budding of a larger hope that has been blossoming out into a rose of beauty in these last five years. I do not believe it to be an over-statement that the last five years have seen the growth of sentiment, more constructive work done, more ripening of what before was only unmaturing thought, than in all the time from reconstruction on. It is with a glad heart, therefore, that one attempts to measure in some degree the growth of this idea of brotherhood between the races during these last five years.

As I remarked before, we cannot rely on statistics to guide us here, but must choose, as our guides in estimating present feeling, those events and thought currents that rise to the surface of Southern life. It must be largely the laboratory method of first hand investigation, which will furnish the data for such a statement as this. I shall attempt, therefore, to mention a few events and tendencies which will throw light on the present feeling existing between the races.

1. Perhaps the tendency most easily discerned is the growing appreciation on the part of the Southern white man of a real system of training for the Negro. As before stated the Southern States deliberately set their faces toward such a policy during the seventies. Since that time more than \$200,000,000 have been spent on the Negro public schools, and of course most of this has been paid by the white tax payer, though two corrective words should be said in this connection. First, the Negro is rapidly coming to bear his share of the taxes for education since he now owns property valued at \$700,000,000. The second word is that ultimately the labor which produces wealth

pays the taxes, and the Negro, as the laborer of the South, has always produced much of the wealth which has paid the taxes for education.

But there is a new attitude toward the training of the Negro. Somehow in the past we have offered this training—such as it was—but half way hoped it would not be taken. In fact many have believed that it would be harmful if taken. But I believe we are seeing a new light. We are not only offering a better training to the Negro now than ever before, but we are also eager to see him take advantage of this training and most of us believe in our heart of hearts that he will be a better man, a better citizen, and a more efficient economic factor if he will take all the training offered and more. There is no danger now that the Southern white man will retrench in his plans for developing the Negro race. The demagogues have blasted away at this rock of our faith with all the political dynamite at their disposal but the rock is unmoved. Thanks to the good common sense and the Christian spirit of the South, Mr. Vardaman, Mr. Blease, and others likeminded, who would give to the Negro only what he pays, are fighting a losing battle. The whole South has become convinced that the Negro must have a chance—and in this we are really reaching a sense of democracy which we have never before known.

2. This leads me to a second indication of a growing sense of friendliness on the part of the Southern white man—a new appreciation of the value of naked humanity. Not interest in a man because he is cultured, or wealthy, or influential, but because he is human. This is the basis of all democracy, and incidentally one might remark it is a higher democracy than Thomas Jefferson ever dreamed of. This is coming not only in the South but also slowly, all over the world. It is more than the square deal economically of which we have heard—it is respecting and appreciating and having a friendly attitude toward all humanity. This feeling finds expression in the new hatred of lynching which is growing in the South. We are coming to see that we cannot lynch Negroes and continue to hold our sense of respect for humanity as humanity. In spite of a few demagogues and hot heads who get their names in the associated press as advocates of summary dealings with certain types of Negroes, the determination is growing in the hearts of thousands of the best Southern whites that the lynching of Negroes must stop.

3. There is also a decided movement on the part of the lawyers, business men and others to see that more justice is done to the Negroes

in the courts. All of these things are the outcome of this new respect for the humanity of the Negro.

4. A still further result of this appreciation of the sacredness of all persons lies in the newer forms of social service which are being promoted among Negroes. Never before has there been so much talk about the condition of sanitation in the midst of which Negroes live. Never has the health of the Negro elicited so much attention as now. Never has the housing question had so much careful, painstaking study as has been undertaken within the last five years. The Southern Sociological Congress, which met in its second annual session in Atlanta, Georgia, last April studied six great questions in its section meetings. One of these questions was the Negro life. There were six hundred delegates—including perhaps more than a hundred Negroes who were regular members of the Congress, and at least four hundred of the six hundred delegates were regularly in attendance at the Race Problem section—while the remaining two hundred attended the other five sections. For three days we four hundred—white and black—discussed in a perfect spirit of harmony and helpfulness the big problems of our relation to each other and our basis of coöperation! We discussed health, housing, sanitation, education, religious life, economic progress—all in the spirit of constructive coöperation between the races. Both Negroes and white men entered into the discussion, and the feeling of cordial helpfulness was the most remarkable evidence of a new fellowship and appreciation. One could enlarge at length, not only on the importance of the study of these problems, but also on what is more significant—the coöperative study which the two races are undertaking together. It marks a new era. It is the return of the old confidence of the first era of slavery without the handicaps and evils that burdened that period.²

5. One must pass quickly to another indication of the better relationship between the races, found in the eager attention given by Southern white college men to this whole topic. Some have felt that this is by far the most hopeful sign of the times, and indeed it is most significant. Some four years ago the leaders of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations in the South felt that something must be done to bring the white college men to know the Negro

² For full proceedings of the Congress, write J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn. Price, \$2.

as he is today, and through that knowledge to bring to the college a spirit of helpfulness. It was felt that the college men were the most open-minded and responsive section of our Southern life, and would most readily accept the suggestion of a thorough study of the whole problem. A volume³ was, therefore, prepared with this group of men in mind, and was launched through the voluntary organization of the Student Christian Association. The fondest hope of those who were promoting the scheme did not expect that more than one or two thousand college men could be secured to make this study during the first year. What was our surprise and great delight to find that four thousand men enrolled and followed the course with great enthusiasm. To our greater surprise nearly six thousand students enrolled the second year, and a demand came for more detailed information as to progress in the race itself. A second volume has, therefore, been prepared⁴ and large numbers of both college men and women have been enrolled in the study of these two books during the past year. Many of the churches are now taking up the study, and in not a few schools these volumes have been introduced into the curriculum study of economics and sociology, as parallel reading. Under the leadership of Dr. James H. Dillard of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, a commission of state university professors has also been organized, which is making a first hand investigation of the whole subject of the uplift of the Negro. The members of this commission are appointed officially by the faculties of these state universities, and hence their findings will have much weight and influence.

6. The outcome of this study on the part of so many of our choicest young men and women in the South, has been not a little first hand social investigation, and even more of social service. In some university centers the white college men organized the Negro men of the city in a study of civil problems, such as health, housing, sanitation, the relation of illiteracy to economic efficiency, the relation of the whiskey traffic to the life of the Negro, and other kindred themes. Seventy-five Negro men were members of this study club, and out of it has grown a Negro city charities organization. In dozens of other college centers Negro boys' clubs have been organized, night schools established, Sunday schools started, lectures on civic conditions given,

³ *Negro Life in the South*. Association Press, New York. Price, 50 cents.

⁴ *Present Forces in Negro Progress*. Association Press, New York. Price, 50 cents.

etc. The Southern white college men are coming to realize this responsibility to help the Negro—not as a Negro, but as a man who has had less chance than themselves, and to whom they should pass on some of their larger life.

7. This leads me to add a sentence about the dedication of Southern life to the problem. It was said earlier that the Methodist Church in the South had 327 white missionaries at work for the Negro at the opening of the Civil War. At that time many of the slave holders prided themselves on the instruction both mental and moral which they could personally impart to their slaves. Davis, Lee, and Jackson, were all conspicuous examples of this. But after the war the Southern white people left this to the Northern missionary and the Negro himself. Now and then an outstanding man like Rev. John Little in Louisville, Kentucky, would dedicate his life to the uplift of the Negro, but their number was small. Now, however, that more study is being done and that a new spirit is dawning, a goodly company of our choicest white college men and women are offering their lives to the uplift of the Negro race. Perhaps no one will ever be able to measure the tremendous contribution of such men as Mr. Jackson Davis, of Virginia, Mr. J. L. Sibley of Alabama, and Dr. James H. Dillard of New Orleans and others who are giving themselves to the building up of the rural Negro schools. They are men out of the heart of the old South, men with high traditions of family, of splendid training, and their work marks an entirely new attitude toward the whole race problem throughout the South. During the last three years quite a number of undergraduate students in our white colleges have deliberately dedicated their lives to the uplift of the Negro race. Hundreds of these young men are definitely planning to have their part of this race uplift, as laymen serving on boards of trustees for schools, members of committees on social service, etc. This is by all means the most hopeful sign of a better day of race understanding in the South.

8. One of the most significant outreaches of the new interest on the part of Southern white men is to be seen in the growth of race pride and race consciousness on the part of the Negro. No race can — ever expect to elicit respect and confidence from others so long as it does not believe in itself. If the Negro in the South wants to win the favor and the sympathetic coöperation of the white man there is no surer way of doing this than through the development of his own race

consciousness and race pride. The white people of the South are doing much to develop this spirit. Through a better type of school which makes the Negro more efficient and self respecting; through farm demonstration work which makes the farmer economically independent; through working with the Negro rather than for the Negro in social uplift; and in many other ways the Negro is being helped into self-respecting citizenship. When the Negro has become economically efficient, intellectually more advanced, racially self conscious, there will be far less friction, for he will then feel as the white man feels that racial integrity and social separation are best for both races. Indeed most of the best trained Southern Negroes I know at present feel as the white man does about this matter—that each race can make its largest contribution to humanity if it develops its own race life and race consciousness. It has been the fear on the part of the Southern white man that development of the Negro intellectually and economically would mean race amalgamation. But as this race consciousness grows stronger and stronger in the Negro race this feeling will be allayed and the two races will dwell side by side in a spirit of increasing brotherhood. As a Southern man, trained in a Southern University, living daily in the midst of these vexatious problems, and working every day to bring about better relations, I feel decidedly that the outlook is brighter than it has ever been in our history.

The careful scientific study being made by college students and professors, the new spirit of social service coöperation, the better type of farming methods passed on by the white men to their colored neighbors, the more efficient Negro schools carried on under the direction of our choicest white educators, the growth of race pride on the part of the Negro himself, and the growing respect for personality as such—all these are signs of the dawning of a new and brighter day both for white and black in the South.

THE WORK OF THE JEANES AND SLATER FUNDS

BY B. C. CALDWELL,

The John F. Slater Fund, New York.

These organizations have the same purpose, the training of Negro youth in the Southern States; they have the same director, the president of the Jeanes Fund being also director of the Slater fund; and they have the same offices in New Orleans and New York. They have separate though overlapping boards of trustees.

The Jeanes work is confined to rural schools, and is almost entirely industrial. Most of the Slater revenue is spent for secondary and higher education, mainly academic, partly vocational and industrial.

The Jeanes work, now in its fifth year, entered a new field. From the start it aimed to reach the school in the background—the remote country school for Negro children, out of sight in the backwoods, down the bayou, on the sea marsh, up in the piney woods, or out in the gullied wilderness of abandoned plantations. Nearly all these schools are held in shabby buildings, mostly old churches, some in cabins and country stores, a few in deserted dwellings. I have seen one in Alabama held in a saw-mill shed, one in Mississippi in a barn, one in Georgia in a peach-packing shed, one in Arkansas in a dry-kiln, one in Louisiana in a stranded flatboat, and one in Texas in a sheepfold. For the most part these schools are taught by untrained teachers without any sort of supervision. The equipment is generally meagre, the pay small and the term short. The Jeanes Fund undertook to send trained industrial teachers into this field to help the people to improve the physical conditions and the teachers to better the instruction given the children.

The teachers employed in this work are trained in some kind of industrial work, domestic or vocational. Most of them teach sewing. Next in number are those who teach cooking. Some are graduate nurses, some laundresses, some basket-makers, some farmers and dairymen; and truck-gardening, blacksmithing, carpentry, mattress-making, baking, and shoemaking are among the industries taught by these teachers.

For the current year there are 120 Jeanes teachers at work, in 120 counties of 11 Southern States, Maryland to Texas. Each teacher visits a number of the country schools, gives a lesson in some industry, plans with the regular teacher to give succeeding lessons in her absence, organizes parents' clubs and starts a movement for better school equipment or longer term, counsels the local teacher about her daily teaching, and stirs the community to united effort to better the school. Although paid by the Jeanes Fund, all these teachers are selected by the county superintendent, do their work under his direction and are members of his teaching corps just like the other teachers of the county.

In many counties this spring the industrial teacher gathered specimens of sewing, baking, pastry, basketry, chair-caning, mattresses, shuck mats, garden truck, carpentry and furniture from all the schools of the county and put them on exhibition at the courthouse, at the superintendent's office or other central point. These exhibits were visited by numbers of school patrons, teachers, children and the white school officials and citizens. In some cases prizes were offered by banks, merchants, railroads and planters for the best work in the various crafts.

The industrial teachers are graduates of Hampton, Pratt Institute, Tuskegee, Petersburg, Cheney, Fisk, Atlanta and kindred institutions. All of them are Negroes. Their salaries range from \$40 to \$75 a month, and their terms from six to twelve months a year.

At the outset the entire expense of this industrial work was borne by the Jeanes Fund. After a year or two the county school boards began contributing, sometimes paying the traveling expenses of the industrial teacher, sometimes buying sewing machines, cook stoves and washtubs for the schools, sometimes renting plots of ground for farm and garden work. Last year one or two counties took over the entire expense of the work, and fifteen or twenty undertook to pay half or part of the teacher's salary.

The Slater Fund from the beginning has devoted most of its means to the higher education of Negro youth, mainly with the purpose of training teachers for the primary schools. But almost from the start it has contributed to public school work in town and city with the same general end in view, devoting its entire contribution to these public schools to the establishment and maintenance of industrial and vocational training. At this time more than three-

fourths of the Slater money is still applied to higher school work, mainly urban and academic. But for the past year or two the Slater trust has been experimenting with some new and promising work in the country.

Several years ago a parish superintendent in Louisiana applied to the Slater Fund for assistance in establishing a country high school for Negro children. Almost at the same time a county superintendent in Virginia, another in Arkansas, and one in Mississippi proposed substantially the same thing. In each case the main purpose was to train teachers for the country schools of the county. Trained teachers cannot be had for the pitiful salary paid to country Negro teachers. And each of these superintendents hoped to get a regular and fairly good supply of teachers definitely trained to do the work needed in his county.

The parish of Tangipahoa, La., was the first to undertake the establishment of such a school. Superintendent Lewis named it the Parish Training School for Colored Children, and located it at Kentwood, a village in the piney woods part of the parish. The parish school board supplied the teachers and equipment, the Brooks-Scanlon Lumber Company furnished material for the house and ten acres of land, and the Slater Fund gives \$500 a year for industrial teaching. The school is now in its second year and promises to render valuable service to the parish.

Three similar schools have been established since; one in Newton County, Miss., to which the county, the town of Newton and an organization of colored people contributed; another in Hempstead County, Ark., where a town school supported by state and local funds was converted into a central training school (not county, because there is no county school body in Arkansas), and the funds were raised by the town of Hope, the local cotton men, and the white and colored citizens individually; and a third in Sabine Parish, Louisiana, where a large community school, seven miles in the country, was made the parish training school, supported by the Sabine school board, with contributions of the timber syndicates owning most of the land around the school. In each of these cases the Slater Fund contributes \$500 a year for three years, the contributions to be continued if the results justify the expenditure. There are no precedents to follow in this kind of work. Each of the counties is working out its problem in the way that seems best to

the superintendent and school board. They vary greatly in local conditions, and each will have to feel its way toward the end in view. But all of them are making the training school distinctly agricultural and industrial all the way through the course offered, and some of them are already giving class work and handcraft of real worth.

Every county in the South has felt the need of fairly well trained teachers for its Negro country schools. But so far as I know this is the first time that superintendents have actually gone to work to get such teachers by training them at home. It will take several years to work out the plan; and local school authorities will give their individual stamp to it in each county. But thus far it looks promising; and the end in view goes to the very heart of the whole matter of Negro education.

I need not speak of the well known schools, Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, Fisk, Spellman and the rest, to which the greater part of the Slater income is devoted. But in two of these and in several colored state normal schools the Slater Fund contributes to the maintenance of summer normal schools for teachers, offering good academic and industrial training for country teachers.

Both the Jeanes Fund and the Slater Fund do a little in the way of helping to build school houses. In several counties of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama the Jeanes Fund is assisting in the building of one good Negro school house as a sample. In each case the community raises a fund for the house, the county school board gives an equal or larger sum, and the Jeanes Fund gives about one-third of the cost of the house. The Slater Fund contributes to the same kind of work in a limited way, and gives more largely to the equipment of town and city schools for vocational work. The magnificent new building for Negro children above the fifth grade erected by the city of Charleston was furnished with superior equipment for all kinds of hand and power work by the Slater Fund.

NEGRO ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES

BY J. P. LICHTENBERGER, PH.D.,

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The study of illiteracy among the Negroes of the United States constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in the story of their achievements in fifty years of freedom. In most of the slave states, before 1861, it was a criminal offense to teach any Negro, slave or free, to read or write; so that illiteracy in the South among the Negroes at the time of the emancipation was nearly 100 per cent.

While conditions were somewhat different in the North, and educational opportunities were not wholly denied, the number of Negroes who could avail themselves of these opportunities was so small as to affect only slightly the rate of illiteracy for the country as a whole. Conservative estimates place the illiteracy of the race at between 95 and 97 per cent at the beginning of freedom. It is clear that this condition in no way indicates either the capacity or inclination of the race for acquiring education. It indicates merely the status of a people reared in barbarism, transplanted into the midst of civilization, but bearing none of its burdens and responsibilities, and participating in no way in its social or cultural activities. The position of the Negro in the United States as a ward of civilization makes it practically impossible to compare either his situation or his achievements with that of any other race or people in modern times. Whatever progress he has made since the beginning of political freedom cannot be attributed solely to his own desire for knowledge, nor to his inherent capacity, but must be regarded in the light of his imitative ability and the opportunities afforded for his advancement by the white population in the midst of which he has lived.

Under the régime of slavery there was not only this general condition, due to the attitude of the masters enforced by legal enactments, but there was likewise the absence on the part of the Negro of any motive for the acquiring of even the smallest elements of education. At the beginning of the period of freedom, the presence of this untutored race in the midst of American civilization formed an irresist-

ible appeal to philanthropic spirited citizens for the education of this new class of freedmen. Had the Negro been left to himself, it would be difficult to predict what his present status would be. Notwithstanding the mistakes in the earlier period of the reconstruction in educational methods provided by the white population, and notwithstanding the inadequacy, not to say neglect, of Negro educational facilities up to the present time, the Negro has benefited greatly by such opportunities as are afforded by American educational institutions in general.

In order to understand the present problem of illiteracy of the Negro race, a survey of the statistics collected by the census bureau over a period of years needs careful study and analysis. In the following table, several decades are presented for the purpose of a compara-

TABLE I

Class of population	Percentage of illiterates in the population 10 years of age and over			
	1910	1900	1890	1880
Total.....	7.7	10.7	13.3	17.0
White.....	5.0	6.2	7.7	9.4
Native.....	3.0	4.6	6.2	8.7
Native parentage.....	3.7	5.7	7.5
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	1.1	1.6	2.2
Foreign born.....	12.7	12.9	13.1	12.0
Negro.....	30.4	44.5	57.1	70.0
Indian.....	45.3	56.2	45.2	
Chinese.....	15.8	29.0		
Japanese.....	9.2	18.2		
All others.....	39.9			

Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910, p. 239.

tive study. This table shows not only the amount and distribution of illiteracy among the various portions of the population, but as well the decline in illiteracy which has taken place in the period from 1880 to 1910, in the various elements of the populations.

Taking up these two principal aspects of the subjects in the order indicated, we find that illiteracy in the Negro group is 6 times that of the white group; or, if we eliminate the persons of foreign birth or extraction, 10 times as great; there being 3 illiterate persons in every 100 native white persons and 30.4 illiterate persons in every 100

Negroes. This comparison is wholly misleading and unfair in view of the distribution of the races.

Two main phases of this distribution must be considered. First, the geographic situation and second, the urban and rural conditions.

The following table is presented in order to show the relative statistics of illiteracy of persons 10 years of age and over in the different sections of the country for 1910.

Here we discover that Negro illiteracy in the North is not greatly in excess of white illiteracy in the South, the figures being respectively 10.5 per cent and 7.7 per cent, while in two of the southern

TABLE II

	All classes	Native white of native parentage	Negro
United States.....	7.7	3.7	30.4
New England.....	5.3	0.7	7.8
Middle Atlantic.....	5.7	1.2	7.9
East North Central.....	3.4	1.7	11.0
West North Central.....	2.9	1.7	14.9
South Atlantic.....	16.0	8.0	32.5
East South Central.....	17.4	9.6	34.8
West South Central.....	13.2	5.6	33.1
Mountain.....	6.9	3.6	8.0
Pacific.....	3.0	0.4	6.3
North.....	4.3	1.4	10.5
South.....	15.6	7.7	33.3
West.....	4.4	1.7	7.0

Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910, p. 243.

divisions it is 8.0 per cent and 9.6 per cent for the white, actually approximating that of the Negroes in New England. The higher rate of illiteracy in the South for both the white and colored portions of the population is attributed to the lack of facilities for securing an education. This at least is given as an explanation for the disparity in the rate of illiteracy in the white population in the two sections of the country. To those who have studied the school conditions, particularly in the South, it seems clear that inadequate as are facilities for white children, those afforded the colored children are much more inadequate. If facilities in the South were equal for black and white children, and as ample as in the North, it is safe to assume that the

rate of illiteracy among Negroes in the South would much more nearly approximate that in the North. This of course would be true of both groups.

In further explanation of the disparity in the rate of illiteracy for the Negro race as a whole as compared with that of the white, it should be remembered that whereas 60.6 per cent of the white population in 1910 was located in the North and 32 per cent in the South, but 10.5 per cent of the Negroes was found in the North and 89.5 per cent in the South. Thus 89.5 per cent of the colored population in the United States shares the inadequate school facilities of the 32 per cent of the white population. Since the illiteracy among the Negroes in the North is only 10.5 per cent while that of the illiteracy of the white population of the South is 7.7 per cent, it is clear that if there was an equal distribution either of population or of educational opportunities, much of the difference in the rates between the races would disappear. In other words, viewing the rate as a whole, it is impossible to show that the difference is fundamentally racial.

A further comparison must be made in regard to the distribution of illiterates between city and country. The following table gives the distribution of illiteracy of persons 10 years of age and over in 1910 in the urban and rural population.

Of the total native white population of native parentage 10 years of age and over in continental United States in 1910, 37.7 per cent resided in cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants, and 62.3 per cent in rural districts and towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants. The illiteracy among the urban native born whites of native parentage was 0.9 per cent. In the rural districts it was 5.4 per cent. This difference in the main is conceded to be due, not to differences in the population under rural and urban conditions, but to the superior facilities for education afforded in urban communities. For example, the small amount of illiteracy among persons of native birth but of foreign or mixed parentage amounting to only 1.1 per cent is explained not upon the basis of race differences between the persons of native and foreign ancestry, but is attributed largely to the fact that persons of foreign born or mixed parentage are for the most part city dwellers, and they have for that reason the superior advantage afforded for education in the cities.

Turning now to the Negro population, we discover that of those 10 years of age and over, 17.7 per cent are urban and 82.3 per cent

are rural. Comparing the percentages of urban and rural conditions, we discover that 17.7 per cent of Negroes share, however unfairly because of racial discriminations, the advantages for education of the

TABLE III

Division and class of community	All classes	Native white of native parentage	Negroes
United States			
Urban.....	5.1	0.9	17.6
Rural.....	10.1	5.4	36.1
New England			
Urban.....	5.6	0.5	7.1
Rural.....	3.8	1.2	16.9
Middle Atlantic			
Urban.....	5.8	0.6	7.0
Rural.....	5.2	1.9	12.2
East North Central			
Urban.....	3.5	0.9	9.7
Rural.....	3.2	2.2	15.8
West North Central			
Urban.....	2.7	0.8	12.3
Rural.....	3.0	2.1	21.0
South Atlantic			
Urban.....	8.5	2.2	21.4
Rural.....	18.9	9.8	36.1
East South Central			
Urban.....	9.6	2.4	23.8
Rural.....	19.4	11.1	37.8
West South Central			
Urban.....	7.2	1.4	20.3
Rural.....	15.2	6.8	37.2
Mountain.....			
Urban.....	3.1	0.9	7.0
Rural.....	9.1	5.1	10.6
Pacific			
Urban.....	2.0	0.3	5.3
Rural.....	4.3	0.6	11.4

Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910, p. 249.

37.7 per cent of the white population, and 82.3 per cent of the Negroes share the rural educational opportunities of the 62.3 per cent of the whites. Much of the illiteracy among Negroes in the United States as a whole is therefore to be attributed to the fact that they are to

such a large degree a rural people, handicapped by the inadequacy of rural educational conditions. It is safe to assume, therefore, that if the distribution of Negroes in regard to urban and rural conditions approximated that of the whole population, or of the native whites of native parentage, that the difference in illiteracy would be considerably diminished. This generalization finds further proof in comparisons between various sections of the country, North and South, rural and urban. In New England, where the colored population is 83.2 per cent urban and 16.8 per cent rural, the rate of Negro illiteracy is 7.1 per cent in cities, or somewhat less than the illiteracy of the entire population, while 16.9 per cent of the Negroes in the rural districts is illiterate. In the east south central division of states, where the native white population of native parentage is 4.2 per cent urban and 95.8 per cent rural, the rate of illiteracy among the whites is 2.4 per cent for the urban, and 11.1 per cent for the rural population. While Negro illiteracy is far in excess of that of the white population in every portion of the United States, nevertheless it is less in urban New England and the middle Atlantic divisions than that of the rural white population in the south Atlantic and east south central divisions.

These facts make it clear that however great the disparity may be in sections where conditions are similar, that, taking the country as a whole, the Negro race being so largely a southern rural people, the comparison between the actual rates of illiteracy for the white and colored populations does not reveal the true state of affairs in regard to the Negro's progress. Notwithstanding the results revealed by sectional geographic comparisons, it still remains true that Negro illiteracy is higher than that of the white population in each section as well as for the country as a whole, just as it is higher for both whites and Negroes in rural districts, as compared with urban districts, and higher in the South than in the North.

The purpose in presenting this comparison has been not to minimize the importance or amount of Negro illiteracy, but merely to show that when due allowance has been made for differences of distribution, much of the supposed evidence of race difference disappears. It seems clear that if equal advantages were afforded in school equipment in urban and rural districts, and if the Negroes were distributed in an equal ratio with the native whites of native parentage in both North and South, the total rate of illiteracy in general, now ten times as great among the Negroes as among the whites, would fall to probably three or four times the amount instead of ten.

Turning now to the decline in Negro illiteracy, it will be observed from the figures in table I that while the illiteracy for the total population declined during the period from 1880 to 1910 from 17.0 per cent to 7.7 per cent, and that of the native whites of native parentage from 8.7 to 3 per cent, that of Negro has been reduced from approximately 70 per cent to 30.4 per cent. The decline of illiteracy among the Negroes shows the same tendency toward diminution as among all the other groups barring the foreign born, except that it has been more rapid. In view of the facts of distribution presented in the previous paragraphs, this decrease has been little less than phenomenal. At the rate of decrease for the period 1880-1910, it will require only a few decades more to bring the rate down to the level of that for the country as a whole at the present time and below that of the foreign born.

The real significance of the decline among the Negroes is best observed by a comparison of age groups.

TABLE IV.—PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910

Age period	All classes	Native white of native parentage	Negroes
10 years and over.....	7.7	3.0	30.4
10 years to 14 years.....	4.1	1.7	18.9
15 years to 19 years.....	4.9	1.9	20.3
20 years to 24 years.....	6.9	2.3	23.9
25 years to 34 years.....	7.3	2.4	24.6
35 years to 44 years.....	8.1	3.0	32.3
45 years to 64 years.....	10.7	5.0	52.7
65 years and over.....	14.5	7.3	74.5

Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910, p. 240.

It is interesting to note here that illiteracy among Negro children 10 to 14 years of age is but 18.9 per cent and that the rate does not rise to that of the group as a whole until the age of 35 years or over, and that beyond the age of 45 it is from 50 to 75 per cent. The present generation of Negro children is therefore enjoying greatly improved conditions and is taking advantage of them. Without further improvement, the next generation will show a reduction of illiteracy to approximately 20 per cent.

The present status of Negro illiteracy in the group 10 to 14 years of age, however, when compared with the same age group among the

whites is again unfair, in view of the facts revealed by the figures of school attendance, so far as these figures may be taken as an index of school facilities afforded. The percentage of school attendance of native white children of native parentage in the United States between the ages of 6 to 20 is 65.9 per cent in urban communities, and 67.3 per cent in rural districts. The same respective figures for colored children are 51.7 per cent and 46.1 per cent. In the south Atlantic division, which is typical of the South in general, the corresponding figures for white are: urban, 59.1 per cent; rural, 63.7 per cent; for colored, urban 48.9, rural 46.6. If, therefore, the colored children had an equal opportunity with the white the difference in illiteracy would be still further reduced.

At the present time and with conditions as they are, the illiteracy of Negro children between 10 and 14 years of age is little more than that for the country as a whole for that portion of the population above 65 years of age, and only a little more than double that of the native whites of native parentage above that age. If statistics were available, they would doubtless show Negro illiteracy among the early age groups in the urban North to be somewhat below that of the older age groups in the native white population in the rural South.

Summarizing, a few generalizations may be made:

1. Negro illiteracy throughout the United States and in every geographic division is greatly in excess of that in the white portion of population.
2. When due allowance is made for differences of distribution in which the vast majority of Negroes share the inadequate facilities for education of the minority of the whites, the disparity in the amount of illiteracy is partially explained without reference to racial qualities or ability.
3. The rapid reduction of Negro illiteracy from something above 95 per cent to 30.4 per cent in fifty years of freedom, and constituting the largest element in the diminution of illiteracy for the United States as a whole, is a phenomenal race achievement.
4. Continuous and rapid reduction in Negro illiteracy is likely to continue through improvement of facilities. To the extent to which an equality of opportunity North and South, urban and rural, is secured will the rate of Negro illiteracy decline until it tends to approximate that of the white.

5. If achievement is measured, not in terms of actual accomplishment, but in the amount of progress made from the point of departure, then there may be little ground for complaint or discouragement, but rather a just feeling of satisfaction and of optimism in the degree of attainment toward ability to read and write accomplished by the Negro race in the United States in its fifty years of freedom.

NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA¹

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That the problem of educating Negro children is not limited in its application to any community, or to the North or South, is now a well recognized fact. That it is of special importance in the study of American education; is closely related to many problems of public policy; and bears directly upon the theory and practice of efficiency in national life, as well as upon race improvement, is not always so well recognized.

At the invitation and with the coöperation of Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, superintendent of the city public schools, this study was undertaken by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research with a view to assisting in the solution of a difficult problem of school administration and efficiency. The inquiry was pursued on the assumption that little could be done unless the subject was approached strictly from the objective viewpoint and prosecuted with as much thoroughness as possible. At the same time it is a practical study and the time and facilities for making exhaustive experiments and anthropometric measurement were very limited. It is urged, therefore, that all facts and conclusions herein presented shall be interpreted accordingly, and that all statements concerning Negro children be interpreted as applying to Negro children as they are today, the product of inheritance and environment.

This paper is, further, a summary of a large body of information. In order to employ summaries with exactness it is necessary to interpret totals, averages, and central tendencies in their relation to the frequencies upon which they are based. It is possible, for instance, to have two groups of a thousand children each, conforming alike to average measurements, and at the same time differing so radically in their conformation to normal distribution as to be almost wholly

¹Summary from a special study of Negro children in the public schools of Philadelphia made for the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

unlike. Such a series of variations not infrequently occurs in exactly those traits, a knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of the groups. In attempting to form conclusions from a general summary, therefore, it is most important to keep these facts in mind. And while it is possible to summarize to a large extent the principal facts brought out in this study of Negro children in the schools, it is also easy to neglect fundamental minor facts that may be shown only in the detailed units of scope and method. With these qualifications the following summary ought to be of value.

The scope of this inquiry included all the elementary schools of the Philadelphia public school system as organized during the months from September, 1910, to January, 1911, the information concerning enrollment and attendance being obtained at that time, and the experiments being made during that period and subsequently. The total number of pupils enrolled in the elementary schools was 154,125, of which 8,192 or 5.3 per cent were Negro children. This enrollment was made from a total number of enumerable children of 241,623, of whom 9,758 were Negroes; and they were enrolled in the 238 elementary schools with their several annexes. The larger study thus includes this total number and the larger comparisons are made between total children and Negro children. The larger group is again variously divided. There were two principal groups of Negro children, those who attend mixed schools for whites and Negroes, and those who attend schools in which only Negro children are enrolled. Again, smaller groups are made the basis of special experiments and minute study, the effort being to approximate in all cases, so far as possible, similar conditions for both white and Negro children, with experiments made uniformly by the same person.

Of the total Negro pupils enrolled in the public elementary schools approximately one-fourth (23.7 per cent) were enrolled in nine separate Negro schools, the remaining three-fourths (76.3 per cent) being enrolled largely in 15 per cent of the total schools of the city. Thirty-one per cent of the schools of the city have no Negro pupils enrolled, 23 per cent have less than 1 per cent, and 20 per cent have between 1 and 5 per cent. The problem of the Negro child is thus seen to rest chiefly upon a relatively small proportion of the schools, and its intensity varies widely in the various schools. Again, the problem varies in the several school districts, being largest in the 4th district where 12 per cent of the pupils enrolled are Negroes, comprising

20 per cent of the total Negro school population, although the district has less than one-tenth of the whole school population. And similarly for other districts. Negro children constitute 5.3 per cent of all children enrolled in the city, but constitute only 4 per cent of all children enumerated in the city, thus showing a higher rate of enrollment than white children. The Negroes have a larger proportion of females in schools than the whites, the former showing only 50.4 per cent girls while the Negroes show 52.8 per cent. The increase of Negro children in the proportion of total population for the last five years was 0.5 per cent and the distribution of these children in the different wards shows a larger scope of the race school problem. The shifting from ward to ward in the school population was a little more than twice as large for the Negroes as for the whites. The proportion of the enumerated whites and Negroes enrolled is about the same but more Negro children remain in schools from fourteen to sixteen years of age. The Negro children show 72.4 per cent of all Negro children from fourteen to sixteen years of age enrolled, and the whites only 59.7 per cent. Ninety-five per cent of Negro children are enrolled in *public* schools and only 74 per cent of white children. The Negro children constitute, therefore, preëminently a public problem.

Further study of distribution shows that a much larger proportion of Negro pupils are enrolled in the primary grades than are white pupils. Of the Negro pupils enrolled 77.8 per cent, and of the white pupils 67.8 per cent are enrolled in primary grades. Again, 4 per cent of the white children reach the eighth grade as opposed to 2.3 per cent of the Negro children. Of the white girls enrolled 33.1 per cent, and of the white boys 31 per cent are enrolled in grammar grades. Compare this with 25.9 per cent of Negro girls and 17.4 per cent of Negro boys enrolled in grammar grades. Negro girls thus remain in school considerably longer than Negro boys. The separate Negro schools enroll pupils chiefly in the primary grades, only 9 per cent being enrolled in the grammar grades. The Negro pupils in the higher grades are thus distributed throughout the mixed schools. While a smaller number of Negro pupils reach the higher grades than the whites, a larger number remain in school to a later age. Only 2.6 per cent of the total pupils of the city remain in school above fourteen years of age, the normal age for the completion of the eighth grade, while 8.6 per cent of the Negroes enrolled are over fourteen years of age. Thus, a large part of the white children finish under age and a

large part of Negro children remain in school beyond the normal age. The Negro girls in school are older than the Negro boys. Among both white and Negro pupils the largest number is enrolled at the age of ten years. But the proportion of Negro children at the ages of five, six and seven is much smaller; and at the ages of fourteen, fifteen, sixteen and seventeen much larger than among the whites. The ages of Negro pupils in separate Negro schools approximate those of the white children. The total Negro children extend in appreciable numbers from six to eighteen years and the whites from six to sixteen. The average age for all children in the schools is 9.3 years and for all Negro children is 10.6 years. That is, the Negroes average a year and a third older than the white children. The differences between the average ages of white and Negro pupils is larger than this in the majority of grades. The following table shows the average age for each grade and the difference between white and Negro pupils.

AVERAGE AGE OF PUPILS BY GRADES

Grade	White children	Negro children	Difference
First.....	6.7	7.6	0.9
Second.....	8.2	9.4	1.2
Third.....	9.5	10.9	1.4
Fourth.....	10.7	12.1	1.4
Fifth.....	11.6	13.1	1.5
Sixth.....	12.4	13.9	1.5
Seventh.....	13.2	14.6	1.4
Eighth.....	13.9	15.5	1.6

The average of Negro pupils in each grade is again compared with the normal age.

"NORMAL" AGE AND AVERAGE AGE OF NEGRO CHILDREN

Grade	Normal age	Average age of Negro pupils	Amount retarded
First.....	7	7.6	0.6
Second.....	8	9.4	1.4
Third.....	9	10.9	1.9
Fourth.....	10	12.1	2.1
Fifth.....	11	13.1	2.1
Sixth.....	12	13.9	1.9
Seventh.....	13	14.6	1.6
Eighth.....	14	15.5	1.5

Whereas the Negro pupils in the eight grade are a year and half over age, the white pupils finish a little under the normal age. Again, in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth grades the Negro pupils average two years older than the normal age, and except in the first grade they average a year and a half or more above the normal age. The average for the Negro children in the sixth grade is exactly the same as that for the white children in the eighth grade.

The Negro children also show a larger average deviation than the white. The following table gives the further comparison between white and Negro children.

Grade	WHITE PUPILS			NEGRO PUPILS		
	Number of pupils	Average age	Average deviation	Number of pupils	Average age	Average deviation
First.....	29,220	6.7	0.8	1,855	7.6	1.1
Second.....	25,378	8.2	0.9	1,648	9.4	1.2
Third.....	24,153	9.5	1.0	1,475	10.9	1.3
Fourth.....	21,685	10.7	1.1	1,095	12.1	1.2
Fifth.....	18,438	11.6	1.0	749	13.1	1.1
Sixth.....	13,516	12.4	0.9	500	13.9	1.0
Seventh.....	9,196	13.2	0.9	308	14.6	1.0
Eighth.....	6,869	13.9	0.9	186	15.5	1.0

From the study of these ages of white and Negro children in the grades it will be seen that there is a high percentage of retardation among Negro children. A summary of the detailed figures of age and grade classifications shows the following facts. With both white and Negro children the highest percentage of pupils above normal age is in the fifth grade. With both white and Negro children the largest percentage below normal age is in the first grade. With white children the highest percentage of normal age children is in the seventh grade while with the Negro children it is in the first grade.

The total Negro pupils show 71.9 per cent retardation, and the white children 38.9 per cent according to the accepted standard which allows one year normal age for each grade. According to a more accurate standard, allowing three years range for each grade, the Negroes show 48.6 per cent retardation and the whites 18.6 per cent. Again, the Negro pupils have 23.2 per cent retarded one year, 21.9 per cent retarded two years, 14.6 per cent retarded three years, 7.9 per cent retarded four years, 3.6 per cent retarded five years, 1.4

per cent retarded six years and 0.2 per cent retarded seven years. The white pupils show 20.2 per cent retarded one year, 11.2 per cent retarded two years, 4.8 per cent retarded three years, 1.7 per cent four years, and 0.5 per cent five years. With both white and Negro children the boys show slightly more retardation than the girls. Negro pupils in separate Negro schools have only 66.7 per cent retardation as opposed to 73.7 per cent among Negro children in mixed schools. The total pupils of all schools show 30.6 per cent below normal age and 30.5 per cent normal, while Negro children show only 8.2 per cent below normal age and 19.9 per cent normal. The 72 per cent retarded Negro pupils of Philadelphia may be compared with the Negro pupils of Memphis, 75.8 per cent, and with 3,670 Philadelphia pupils with defective vision having 75 per cent retardation.

In high schools Negro boys are retarded 60 per cent and Negro girls 74.6 per cent; white boys are retarded 27.4 per cent and white girls 24.1 per cent. The number of Negro pupils in the high school, however, is small. Among the whites there are in the high school about sixty pupils to every 1,000 enrolled in elementary schools, while for the Negroes there are only twenty-one or about 2 per cent. Again, for each 1,000 Negro boys there are ten in the high school and for Negro girls thirty, while for white boys there are sixty-one, and for white girls fifty-seven to each 1,000 in the elementary schools.

Ayres shows that attendance is an important factor in retardation. Having shown the high percentage of retardation among Negro children, it is necessary to inquire into their attendance and promotion. The average attendance for five years among the total pupils of the city was 87.7 per cent and for Negro pupils in the Negro schools 78.8 per cent, a difference amounting to 10 per cent of the total average attendance. The irregularity of the Negro pupils' attendance is made up of lateness, days missed, and late entrance or early leaving school. The white children show only 0.7 per cent of lateness and the Negro pupils show 3.1 per cent or more than four times that of the white children. In no case do Negro schools have as high record of attendance as the average whites. In no case do the white schools show as low percentage of attendance as the average Negro schools. Likewise, in no case do the Negro schools approximate so low a percentage of lateness as the average whites, and in no case do the white schools show so high a percentage of lateness as the average Negro schools. Among

the total pupils of the city 3.3 per cent were reported as remaining in their grades more than twenty months and 0.8 per cent more than thirty months. Among Negro pupils in Negro schools 9.5 per cent remained in their grades more than twenty months and 1.2 per cent more than thirty months. Among Negro pupils in mixed schools 9.2 per cent remained in grades more than twenty months, and 1.1 per cent more than thirty months. That is, three times as many Negro pupils as whites remain in grades more than twenty months, and six times as many more than thirty months. Of Negro pupils in mixed schools 19 per cent remained in grades fifteen months or more and some 25 per cent repeated grades to some extent.

Ayres points out the fact that bad effects of low percentages of promotion increase with astonishing rapidity as each successive decrease of the percentage promoted is made. Thus a difference of 10 per cent in the percentage of promotions is much more than twice as much as 5 per cent. He shows that a difference of seven points in the percentage of promotions, for instance, may cause a difference in the number of pupils with clear records, in each 1,000 pupils, of 220. That is, with a special average of 90 per cent promotions in a case where no pupils die or drop out of school, 480 pupils out of every 1,000 reach the eighth grade without failing, while with an average of 83 per cent only 260 reach the eighth grade without failing. According to this standard of reckoning among the total pupils of the Philadelphia schools 240 pupils of every 1,000 will reach the eighth grade without failure, and among the Negro pupils only about 50 would reach the eighth grade without failure. That is, the percentage of promotions among the total pupils of the schools is 81.8 and among Negro pupils in Negro schools 70.6 and among Negroes in mixed schools 71 per cent. There is, thus, a large difference between the reports of white and Negro children, but little difference between the two groups of Negroes. The largest difference between promotions by grades between white and Negro children are in the first, fifth and seventh grades. Among Negro pupils there is little variation in the different ages of percentages of promotions, and little variation between boys and girls.

The average markings by teachers reported for Negro children were 70; 69 for boys and 71 for girls. However, the range was wide, there being some 5 per cent with grades of ninety, and 25 per cent with grades of eighty. Of the pupils having grades of ninety, the

earlier grades have a slightly larger proportion than the later grades and the girls excel the boys by a small margin. Again, 4.9 per cent of Negro pupils in mixed schools were reported at the head of their class, 20.9 per cent were in the upper quarter, 39.6 per cent were in the middle half, and 34.3 per cent were in the lower quarter. In the numerical rating pupils below the age of thirteen furnish the largest proportion of grades above seventy and likewise higher averages, and the older pupils show a consequent smaller proportion of higher grades, and lower averages. The largest proportion of nineties is found at eight and nine years and the largest proportion of eighties at eleven years. The highest average grade, seventy-two, is found at eleven years, and the averages vary from seventy at seven years of age to sixty-two at seventeen. The girls show a slightly better record in both averages and the number having grades of eighty and ninety.

According to the teachers, Negro children find most difficulty in arithmetic and studies that require compound concentration and prolonged application. Seventy per cent of Negro pupils reported show their poorest work in arithmetic, as compared with 52 per cent of white children. Language, after arithmetic, furnishes the greatest difficulty. Reading and spelling offer comparatively the least difficulties to Negro pupils. Among Negro pupils in mixed schools 32.7 per cent are reported unsatisfactory in deportment and among white pupils 22.9 per cent. Of the Negro children having a grade of ninety or being at the head of their classes, only 14.3 per cent were reported unsatisfactory while more than 40 per cent had excellent deportment. Likewise the deportment of all Negro children having better marks and standing in the upper quarter of class work was consistently better. Again, Negro children coming from better and average homes have better deportment than those coming from the poorest homes. Likewise the poorest class of Negro homes furnish only a small proportion of pupils having the highest grades. Negro girls have slightly better deportment than Negro boys. There is thus a decided positive correlation between deportment and good work. The offenses charged to Negro pupils are many and the correction and the effective training of colored pupils offer a large field for constructive work.

Before forming conclusions from the above facts it is necessary to inquire into their causes and meaning. It should be remembered, too, that there are many exceptions to the totals and averages there reported. That is, in every phase of school life the Negro children

show a tendency to reach or excel the median of the white children, and the range from lowest to highest among Negro children tends to become wider than among the whites. Before inquiring into the specific race differences, as reflected in Negro children and white children, it will be necessary to analyze as many as possible of the environmental influences that tend to change the records made in school. The correlation of the home and social environment, together with present racial influences, with school records will indicate the source of many difficulties which the Negro children have to face. When these influences have been estimated it will be possible to seek remedies for defects which exist under the present conditions and to estimate the extent to which permanent changes are necessary and upon what basis they may be advocated.

The grade distribution, retardation and promotion of pupils are so inter-related that their causes may be considered together. The prevailing practice among children in all public schools tends to cause them to drop out of the elementary schools at fourteen years of age. There are two main causes for this. Fourteen years is the normal age for the completion of the eighth grade, whence children either drop out of school altogether or enter the high school. But if they have not finished at that age the compulsory education requirements permit them to drop out of school at that time. Among the total children of the public schools only 2.6 per cent remain to a later age than fourteen years. Among Negro children 8.6 per cent are above fourteen years of age. Now it has been seen that the average age for total children in the eighth grade was exactly the same as for Negro children in the sixth grade. This age is 13.9 years. The Negro pupil must either drop out at the sixth grade or remain in school to an average age of 15.6 years. This partly explains the smaller number who reach the eighth grade among Negro children and likewise the reasons for remaining in school longer than the whites. That is, if the Negro children dropped out at the age of fourteen as do the whites, there would be no seventh and eighth grade pupils. Now the Negro pupils do tend to drop out, but not all, hence the few who remain to the eighth grade. Again, there is often less incentive offered Negro children to drop out than white children, owing to the limited field of work open to Negro boys and girls at that age. Of course, the question of the aptitude of Negro pupils to do the work of higher grades is an important factor as will be seen, but all should not be ascribed to

this. It is a common fallacy to assume that because Negro pupils are not enrolled in the higher grades, they therefore cannot do the work given in those grades. In addition to the causes which make them retarded and thus cause the elimination by age, there are other factors than those suggested. The separate schools for Negro children offer chiefly work in the primary grades, while the grammar grade Negro pupils attend the mixed schools entirely. It has been shown in some specific instances that Negro pupils attending crowded classes in the upper grades and competing with white children, with what they feel to be unequal odds, owing to their higher age, and discrimination on the part of teachers and pupils, have preferred to leave school rather than attend under these circumstances. And unless there are home influences or age requirements to keep them in school the elimination is easy. This element enters to some extent in all mixed schools and it is not possible to analyze influences to fix the exact amount.

But assuming, first, that the age elimination is largest, it is necessary to inquire into the causes of retardation. This in turn will have a direct relation to the promotion of Negro pupils and hence will throw light on the question of their aptitude to do the work of higher grades. It was shown that the Negro pupils approximate twice as much retardation as the white pupils according to the accepted standard of normal age and that according to a more refined standard they approximate three times as much. Further it was shown that in the majority of grades the Negro pupils are consistently two years behind the white children. Is this retardation due to lack of progress, as is commonly assumed? Or is the slow progress due entirely to lack of aptitude for school work? It was shown in the inquiry that more than one-third of the pupils in the schools were born outside of Philadelphia and largely in the Southern States, especially Virginia and Maryland. Those who thus enter begin late, first because they are accustomed to less schooling in their home communities, and secondly, because the change of residence causes uniform loss of attendance in every school. The retardation begun is accelerated in the adaptation to new conditions and the result is disastrous to progress and deportment. Again, the small number of Negro children in school at the ages of six and seven shows that the Negro pupils uniformly enter school later than white children. In addition to the causes already mentioned, there are various other influences, home conditions and shift-

ing of population, which tend to contribute towards the result. Thus the element of population is large in the process of elimination. Again, the death rate for Negro children is higher than for white children, and consequently the elimination due to this is larger. While this would seem to be overbalanced by the influx of new children, it has been shown that these children only add to the amount of retardation which accelerates elimination.

It has been shown that the Negro children move from ward to ward and hence change schools more frequently than do white children. In the intervals time is lost and work is hindered. To poor attendance is ascribed a large part of the failure of Negro children. Poor attendance has a number of contributing causes. A review of the facts as reported by the trained nurses shows that the Negro children are often left to do as they wish. More than 60 per cent of the mothers work away from home. The children oversleep, or choose their own procedure. They are not infrequently required to run errands, and assist at home before going to school, or for parts of the day. They are hindered by neglect and carelessness, by interference, and by physical results of environment. The extent to which this is true has been pointed out. Poor attendance and a high percentage of lateness affect the quality of work seriously. But home conditions affect not only attendance and lateness but also the actual work in school. The quantity and quality of food and the manner of eating have been shown to be irregular and improper. The Negro children sleep irregularly and insufficiently. They use intoxicants to an unusual extent. They are affected to an unusually large extent with minor bodily afflictions, especially colds, head and throat troubles. Their conditions of bodily hygiene are bad. In some instances they are poorly clad. Thus the very physical basis of attention is undermined.

Again in school, partly as a result of the facts mentioned, partly because of innate traits, and partly because of home and race influences, the Negro children do not apply themselves to their work. Lack of study is often responsible for unsatisfactory work instead of inability to succeed in their studies. Especially is this true of their home study. There are few incentives to study at home, little favorable influence to promote it, and practically no facilities in the way of reading. Again Negro parents are unable to assist their children in most cases and are not always disposed to do so. The mothers and fathers working out, the promiscuous mingling and visiting,

moral and other irregularities noted previously—all these contribute towards the difficulties in the way of Negro children.

In this way many other factors might be correlated with the poor resulting conditions of Negro children in the schools already enumerated. Under existing environment the retardation, attendance, promotions, quality of work and deportment are natural products. Inquiry was made into the home conditions of Negro pupils whose records were high. This inquiry reported only those pupils about whom there was no doubt in their classification. The results showed that the poorest homes furnished only a small per cent and that the best and average homes furnished about equal proportions. There was no verification of the assumption that all bright Negro children are mulattoes.

Some of the causes affecting the present status of Negro children in the schools have been suggested thus at length. Others may be studied from the context. So far as the results of this study up to this point are concerned, there is no evidence to show that Negro children differ from white children because of race. There is much evidence to show that they differ largely—whether because of environment or only in the midst of environment cannot be discussed here. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to report an exhaustive and scientific study of more exact measurements before any conclusions can be reached in regard to race differences.

But for the present, neither the causes nor the processes serve to change the *condition*. Whatever they are it has been shown that Negro pupils constitute a separate problem of education in the schools and it is necessary to interpret the meaning of facts, regardless of their causes. Then when the more exact causes have been determined it will be possible to know the more exact significance of the facts reported.

It will be seen that the problem of the Negro child has two distinct larger meanings. The first is the effect of the present conditions upon the successful application of the present school system to Negro children. Rated according to the usual standards, it has been shown that the schools are not successful in teaching Negro children. These children are not receiving education approximating their needs either for liberal training or industrial work. It is scarcely possible to place the blame entirely upon the Negro children. The second meaning of the facts has to do with the effect which this slow rate of progress

and over-age has upon the white children, involving the working efficiency of the whole school system. If the eight thousand Negro pupils in the schools, of whom more than 5,500 are retarded, were all grouped together, the problem would involve only about that number of retarded pupils. But these Negro children are enrolled in many schools involving primarily more than 60,000 children. Because of the dull Negro pupils in each class, the teachers claim that the entire class must lose much time and thus the rate of progress and the degree of efficiency are lowered. This repetition of time on the part of the teachers varies from almost 40 per cent in the more difficult subjects to a much smaller amount in easier studies. If this repeated teaching is not given, the Negro pupils suffer and thus add to the already high percentage of retardation. Unfortunately, there is no way of measuring this loss and subtracting the degree of similar losses in the same classes because of dull white pupils, in order to ascertain the median generic loss caused by the retarded Negro pupils in each subject and grade.

It is possible, however, to estimate the number of years lost by Negro pupils in the aggregate. That is, the number of years represented in the total over-age pupils is a measure of ultimate loss which the Negro pupils sustain through elimination and retardation. This loss is not always a loss in expense to the city by any means, for, as has been shown, late entrance accounts for much of the Negro pupils' retardation. It does in every case, however, show the relation between the over-age pupil and the normal pupil, and some inference may be drawn as to the extent to which normal pupils are hindered and loss of time incurred.

If the aggregate years of pupils over-age be calculated for the white children, there would be 87,242 such years or approximately six months for each child reported. If the same aggregate for Negro children be calculated there would be 13,842 such years or approximately twenty-one months for each Negro enrolled. That is, of the total years above normal age for all children, 101,084, Negro children have more than 12 per cent. These years of retardation may not cost a large amount of money, but tax the efficiency of the schools. This cost to efficiency, caused by the retarded pupils, is further intensified by the prejudice existing in the minds of white pupils and teachers. This difficulty may be understood when it is remembered that the white teachers are teaching day after day a group of children in

whom the majority can see few strong points. The full meaning of the present situation cannot be discussed adequately until the studies of exact measurements, comparisons of Negro children in mixed and separate schools according to uniform school tests, and comparison of teaching efficiency in the white and Negro schools have been reported. Meantime it is well to proceed with the second division of this inquiry.

Tests of General Intelligence and Mental Processes

It is perhaps an accepted theory that the influence of environment is much more powerful in the displacement of an individual or group downward than upward. That is, unfavorable environment may easily retard or warp growth, and take away from their highest possibilities the energies that make a high mental or physical development possible. While favorable environment, likewise, has its strong influence in developing mental and physical energies to their natural consummation, it can rarely raise them beyond their natural abilities. Suppose a group of individuals of median abilities be divided into two parts, the one placed under favorable environment, the other under unfavorable environment. The part living under unfavorable environment will furnish a larger proportion of the exceptionally inferior, than will the other group of exceptionally superior; or to consider the individual, a person of only the median ability cannot be raised to the rank of the most exceptional superiority by any environment, whereas, the individual of median ability may often be reduced by environment to the most exceptionally inferior.² Now this fact is of special significance in the study of Negro children. On the one hand it lends support to the conclusion that the failure and defects of Negro children may be due only to environment which is unfavorable to their highest development. There is, thus far, no evidence to contradict such a conclusion, while there is much evidence to show that the environment under which Negro children have grown is unfavorable to the development of the mental abilities commonly accepted as superior. But on the other hand, it may lend evidence to the conclusion that no environment, however good and however much of favorable training and positive impetus it might offer, can raise individuals of only moderate efficiency and intelligence to a station of superiority.

² See Thorndike's *Educational Psychology*, p. 210.

Now it has been shown that Negro children show a large proportion of inferior inefficiency in certain accepted fields according to certain accepted methods of rating. They also show a certain proportion of apparently exceptional superiority in certain processes and activities. Here again the results indicate, on the one hand, that Negro children conform to the conditions in which environment is the chief factor in determining the results; and likewise, owing to admixture of white blood, and owing to the inaccuracy of measurements, there is no evidence to show that they do not appear to furnish only mediocre native abilities at the best. With only this knowledge at hand, it is absolutely impossible to say how much and of what sort are the innate differences between white and Negro children. So far the inferiority of Negro children in school efficiency has been reported only in terms of very general estimates and the study and correlation of even immediate environment showed sufficient influence to bring about present conditions. But no tests of efficiency in specific processes have been made and no relative standard of intelligence established. It is necessary, therefore, to measure with methods of scientific precision the mental and physical traits of the median group of Negro children and to report the results in terms of objective units. These must then be compared with similar exact measurements of the median white children. Next the exceptionally inferior and the exceptionally superior children must be studied and the nature of the basis of their inferior and superior qualities be ascertained so far as is possible. These measurements must include both mental and physical processes and their combinations and so far as possible the total intelligence of the children. When this has been done it will be possible to rate any differences that may be of long standing, inherent, if not inherited, and upon this base a knowledge of the fundamental needs and perhaps possibilities of the children may be built. Upon this basis, too, may be begun studies of actual racial psychology and important aspects of American education.

First, it is necessary to study mental processes. The list of important aspects of total mentality which might be tested, is almost unlimited. However, certain generally accepted fundamental processes may be tested and their quickness, breadth, intensity and strength ascertained. The physical basis and motor processes may then be studied and correlated. But as a preparation for such inquiry let the total intelligence of the children be measured according to

some accepted and approximately accurate standard. Such a standard should be apart from knowledge gained primarily in the school room, and should test only general intelligence. Such a test is found in the Binet measuring scale of intelligence which furnishes a simple but accurate test for each year up to fourteen years of age. The test for the fourteenth year was entirely impractical but the other tests were used with every precaution for accuracy. The method was the same as that used by Goddard and the tests for Negro children accordingly compared with those made upon whites by Dr. Goddard.³ The number of white children tested by Dr. Goddard was 1,547 and the number of Negro children tested in this study was 300, the number being unavoidably limited, but the selection a fair chance selection.

Of these numbers the white children showed 21 per cent testing one year above age and 20 per cent testing one year below age, while the Negro children show only 5 per cent one year above age and 26 per cent one year below age. Negro children show 6.3 per cent feeble-minded as compared with 3.9 per cent white children. The figures for the white children conform closely to a normal curve while the upper half of the curve for Negro children is almost entirely wanting. The median for the white children falls within the "at age" period while with Negro children it falls decidedly at "one year below age." Taking three years, one above age, at age, and one below age, as "normal" and plotting the curves the result is almost identical to the similar curve plotted for normal, below and above normal age as indicated in the grade distribution already described, indicating that the school grading and the Binet tests coincide so far as the classification of Negro children is concerned.

The total averages, however, do not represent the tests accurately in the case of Negro children. The Negro children at five, six and seven years test about normal, while the older children test far below normal. Those at five years test 5.1 years, while the fifteen year old children tested only 11.3 years. The average thus goes from 0.1 year above to 3.7 years below age.

The following table gives the average intelligence for each year and the number tested.

Here again it will be necessary to have a larger number of tests, and also to make other tests in order to ascertain the accuracy of the tests for the older children.

³ See *The Training School*, January, 1910, and 1911.

Further detailed study of the tests for each year reveals other important considerations. The tests for the sixth year were answered by a larger per cent of Negro children of that age than of white children. In the seventh year Negro children were approximately as good as the white, and thence they decrease to the thirteenth year regularly until at that age no Negro children thirteen years of age passed the test. In only the sixth and seventh years could more than 50 per cent of the Negro children pass the test for their ages so that the question is raised as to whether the tests are not misplaced in this instance and whether it is quite fair to use the same standards with Negro children as with white children.

A second general test was given to supplement the Binet tests with better results. The completion method of Ebbinghaus was used

AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE OF NEGRO CHILDREN

Age	Number of pupils	Average age by Binet tests	Average amount backward (years)
5	10	5.1	0.1 (above)
6	33	5.6	0.4
7	42	6.7	0.3
8	45	7.3	0.7
9	36	7.2	1.8
10	37	8.6	1.4
11	33	9.5	1.5
12	20	10.5	1.5
13	23	10.4	2.6
14	13	10.7	3.3
15	8	11.3	3.7

with a view to testing children on their ability "to combine fragments or isolated sections into a meaningful whole."⁴ The test was given to white and Negro children from eleven to fourteen years of age. The text contained 93 elisions. The average number correct for the white children was 56.4 and for the Negro children 47.5. Ten per cent of the white children returned incoherent completions and 35 per cent of the Negro children. Thirty-five per cent of Negro children made completion by phrase only as opposed to 10.8 per cent of white children. The mode for white children ranged from fifty to seventy and for Negro children from forty to fifty.

⁴The test is given in Whipple's *Manual of Mental and Physical Tests*.

Next came the tests for "single traits," the first of which was Thorndike's "A" test for simple perception, the results being graded according to the number of "A's" marked regardless of the number omitted. Three hundred and ten white children and 275 Negro children were tested with the result that Negro children showed a higher average of performance and a wider range of variability, the Negro children marking an average of 21.9 and the white children 19.3 while the average deviation for the Negroes was 6.9 and for the whites 4.2. The curve for the white children tends to conform to a normal curve of distribution while that for the Negro children is flat and irregular.

The next test given was Thorndike's "A-t" test for association of ideas, thus taking one step more. The same number of children were tested with the result that white and Negro children are approximately equal in average performance but Negro children again show larger deviations. The average performance of white children was 16.9 and for Negro children 16.6 and the deviations being 3.7 and 4.2 respectively. Here again the curve for white children conforms more closely to the normal distribution, the whites excelling in the mode and average and the Negroes in variability and range.

The next test added to association of ideas and perception, controlled association as suggested in Thorndike's "opposites" test. Here the difference between the two groups was much larger, the average for the whites being 13.2 and for the Negroes 10.5, and still the deviation for the Negroes was 4.4 as opposed to 3.6 for the whites. The curve for white children tends again to normal while that for Negro children is multimodal and very irregular, being exactly the opposite of the whites for whom the test was a little too easy, it being a little too difficult for completion by the Negro children.

The next test combines association of ideas and controlled association with some knowledge and facility in spelling as outlined by Thorndike's misspelled word test. In grading according to efficiency in marking misspelled words the difference was found to be greater than in other tests. The white children have 10.6 per cent who mark from 90 to 100 while the Negro children have only 1.5 per cent. The white children showed only 1.3 per cent who marked under 20 while the Negro children showed 10.8 per cent. The mode for the white children was at 80 and for the Negro children at 30. The average for

white children was 69.6 and for Negro children 50.6 while the deviation for Negro children was again larger than for white children, and the curves are similar to those of other tests. In grading the same test according to the number omitted the same results were noted, a lower efficiency and larger deviation.

Thus in these tests ranging from the simplest to more complex the Negro children tend to decrease in efficiency as the complexity of the process increases, as compared with white children. In the first they excel slightly; in the second they almost equal the performance of the whites; in the third they fall considerably below and in the fourth very much below. In all cases the deviation is considerably larger for the Negro children, thus raising very important considerations.

Conclusion

Further tests and measurements of white and Negro children might have been carried to an almost indefinite extent with profit. But the limit of this study, bounded by the facilities at hand, had been reached, and sufficient data obtained to permit brief summaries, conclusions and discussions of the relative differences between white and Negro children in their school environment.

In considering the data given it must be remembered that they apply to Negro children as they are found today, the product of inheritance and environment, and that the question of inherent *race* traits, in the strictly anthropological meaning, is entirely apart from the present discussion. It is hoped that researches into race differences will be aided by the facts reported in this study, but that is not the main object of this inquiry. If the cumulative influence of immediate and remote ancestry on the one hand, and immediate and remote environment on the other, has been such as to bring about present conditions, it is essential to analyze these conditions and undertake to determine what further influences will bring the best results from continuing inheritance and environment. There can be no doubt as to the problem from the practical viewpoint of efficiency in education or from the viewpoint of accepted principles of education, psychology, and anthropology.

It may be repeated that in a problem of such long-developed standing and complexity, both in itself and in its relation to environment, final conclusions cannot be reached at once. Dogmatic assertions and hasty recommendations should be avoided and the full force

of study and recommendation be directed toward further research and the application of knowledge and means now available.

With these qualifications in mind, conclusions may be reached which will be of value in attempting to solve the pedagogical and administrative problems involved and in placing the entire question on a scientific basis. The study has shown conclusively that there are distinct differences between white and Negro children in all three of the aspects studied, namely, environment, school conditions and progress, and in mental and physical manifestations. The study of home environment shows that Negro children are at a disadvantage, in social and moral influences and in actual physical conditions, comprising food, drink, sleeping accommodations, and general hygienic conditions. In addition to the general social influences of crowded conditions and lower standards, the children are handicapped by poor air, water, food and irregular exercise and rest. Finally they receive little intelligent supervision and coöperation at home in maintaining a continuous connection with school and mental effort, and when leaving school face restricted opportunities for obtaining a livelihood.

The differences in school attendance and progress are equally large. Negro children show much greater retardation measured by both age and progress; a much lower percentage of attendance and higher percentage of irregularity; a lower percentage of promotion and a lower average of class standing. Great as these differences are, the influence of environment alone seems to be sufficient to account for the majority of the results. It appears, therefore, that injustice would be done to Negro children if harsh judgment be passed upon them because they do not maintain the standard of the white children. The fact that the records of a limited number of Negro children equal the records of the best white children gives indication of larger possibilities.

But the differences between the two groups do not end with environment and school progress. The exhaustive study of conditions of school progress indicated that there were differences in kind as well as in amount. The results of the tests, applied uniformly to white and Negro children, show that in their manifestation of general intelligence, Negro children, after the age of eight years, are behind the white children; that in single traits and processes these older children differ from the white children materially; that in comparison with white children the efficiency of Negro children varies inversely

as the complexity of the process; but that in practically all instances the deviations for Negro children are larger than for the white children; and in many cases the individuals among the Negro children range as high as those among the white children. The white children tend always to conform to a normal curve of distribution, and the Negro children tend toward a flat, irregular, and not infrequently, multimodal curve. These facts apply to both normal and backward children.

As far as the data presented show, the differences in physical measurement of height, weight, neck and chest measurements, and temperature, respiration, and pulse, are much less and show less consistency in variation, and appear more traceable to the influence of immediate environment than do other differences.

That these facts are significant there can be little doubt. That they present certain complex problems is entirely consistent with the inevitable results of a long and varied race inheritance combined with an equally varying environment. If, as Professor Boas concludes, "Even granting the greatest possible amount of influence to environment, it is readily seen that all the essential traits of men are due primarily to heredity"⁶ and if further "we must conclude that the fundamental traits of the mind . . . are the more subject [than physical traits] to *far-reaching* changes"⁶ and "we are necessarily led to grant also a great plasticity of the mental make-up of human types,"⁷ it would clearly be impossible for the Negro children to show the same manifestations of mental traits as white children, after having been under the influence of entirely different environments for many generations.

This conclusion also brings with it a great responsibility. The fact that such important differences exist between the white and Negro children and that they have arisen naturally through long periods of growth in different environment, brings with it an obligation to determine the exact nature of the differences, their specific causes, and the means by which a new environment and method may overcome such weaknesses as are found. The fact that the Negro children show great variability in all activities combined with the accepted theory of the plasticity of human types, gives indications of great possibilities in

⁶ *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 76.

⁶ *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

the development of the Negro. But it also characterizes all efforts to deny the existence of fundamental differences between the white and Negro children as inconsistent and harmful to the development of the Negro race, on the one hand, and to the permanent adjustment of conditions on the other.

The importance of these considerations may be emphasized further by referring to certain specific results of the study. For instance, the results of the Binet tests indicated that after the eighth year the median Negro child was unable to perform the intellectual processes commonly ascribed to a normal white child of that age. Apparently the Negro children found it very difficult to go beyond their inheritance of simple mental processes and physical growth. But they exercise to a high degree of efficiency the simple processes which, if coördinated, would lead to a higher degree of general intellectuality. Favorable environment can add nothing; it can only develop the qualities already possessed. If, then, it is possible to know the exact defects in development, and the nature of the traits possessed, it will be possible to develop the inherent energies and qualities in the right channels provided the method of training shall involve sufficient detail and extend over sufficient time. Herein lies the great value of defining the exact differences between the several groups of children involved; for in this way only can efficient training for the development of native energies be provided. This is the basis of the great advance in modern intellectual methods and is entirely in accord with accepted anthropological knowledge.

Responsibility does not end, however, with the effort to provide education which will ultimately develop the children into their highest capabilities. The present and immediate future must be provided for. The great majority of Negro children not only do not enter the high school but also fail to complete the elementary grades. Less than 2 per cent of the Negro children of school age reach the eighth grade. Furthermore, their training to the period of dropping out of school fits them neither for any special work in life nor for competing with the more fortunate and better fitted in society at large. The opportunities for employment of Negro children thus equipped are limited, and they are forced to continue the struggle under even more unfavorable conditions. Add to all the inequalities already mentioned the fact that the standard of excellence, toward which white and Negro children unconsciously strive, is often entirely different. An indi-

vidual among the whites and an individual among the Negroes may each measure up to the maximum ideal of his habitual social and mental horizon and each deserve 100 per cent credit, and yet the objective measure of final achievement may be larger in the one case than in the other. What then, can the school and society expect of children to whom they give neither special training for life nor equal opportunity in the struggle? Here again the basis of improvement is found in the exact definition of conditions as they are and a recognition of their significance.

It follows that from the community standpoint an effort should be made not only to provide proper education and vocational training and guidance, but the present unfavorable conditions should be so remedied as to influence the smallest possible number of children and schools. If the lack of adaptation of children to the curricula is costing the community thousands of dollars annually and is at the same time a hindrance to school efficiency and progress, and if even at this great cost the desired objects are not obtained, can there be doubt concerning the need for a more definite program?

HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

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Since 1823 there have been graduated from American colleges about 5,000 Negroes, 1,000 from Northern colleges and 4,000 from colleges established especially for Negroes in the South. Probably as many as 900 of these college graduates have been women. Only 34 Negroes were graduated before emancipation and over two-thirds of these from Oberlin College. The first three American Negro college graduates were from Bowdoin, Middlebury and Ohio. The only Negro institution to establish a college department before the edict of freedom was Wilberforce University in Ohio. The department was established here in 1856, and during its first twenty years eleven students were graduated.

There was no opportunity for higher education of Negroes in the South fifty years ago, and little or no incentive to such education anywhere in the nation. In the South the opportunity and incentive came speedily in the wake of emancipation and the consequent campaign of education. This campaign enlisted many earnest and capable young men and women from the North, who devoted themselves to the work with a fine missionary zeal. They entered the field under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, and other missionary societies. By act of Congress of March 3, 1865, the Freedman's Bureau was created. The commissioner was authorized to "coöperate with private benevolent associations in aid of the freedman." Through this agency great assistance was given to the missionary societies in their work. Under the reconstruction governments public school systems for the education of the children regardless of race were organized. Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the reconstruction governments may have been, in the organizing of the public school system at least they built wisely and well.

Through these three agencies—the missionary societies, the federal government with its Freedman's Bureau and the state govern-

ments with their public school systems—the work of educating the freed Negroes progressed rapidly. Further to aid the work there were established two great funds. In 1867 George Peabody gave \$2,000,000 “for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southwestern States of our Union.” This gift was for the benefit of both races. It aided greatly in the development and improvement of the state school systems by which the Negro children benefited as well as the white children. The other fund referred to is the John F. Slater Fund which, when established in 1882, amounted to \$1,000,000. It was placed by Mr. Slater in the hands of a board of trust with large discretionary powers, the specified object being, “the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education.” The income is distributed annually among the Negro institutions whose work commends itself to the trustees of the fund, chiefly to pay the salaries of teachers of manual arts, and partly to pay the salaries of normal instructors. In his letter of gift Mr. Slater suggests as methods of operation “the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught, if, in the opinion of the corporation, by such limited selection the purposes of the trust can be best accomplished; and the encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.” In providing for the ultimate distribution of the fund he says, “I authorize the corporation to apply the capital of the fund to the establishment of foundations subsidiary to then already existing institutions of higher education, in such wise as to make the educational advantages of such institutions more freely accessible to poor students of the colored race.” These quotations clearly show the interest of Mr. Slater in the higher education of the Negroes. The need for “the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught” was one of the great motives which prompted the establishing of normal schools and colleges for the Negroes in the South.

The other great motive which prompted the missionary societies to establish colleges for Negroes was simple faith in their possibilities, and belief that to them as to the white people should be open opportunities for the highest human development. Their motive was in no sense utilitarian. It was simply Christian. They looked

upon the Negroes as essentially like white people; what differences there were between the two they considered accidental rather than vital, the result of circumstance rather than the result of race. Only the future could tell what would be the outcome of their venture; still they went forward founding institutions "for the Christian education of youth without regard to race, sex or color," and chartered to do not only college but university work. This was an expression of great faith in the possibilities of the recently emancipated slaves. It was truly democratic and truly Christian. These institutions were at the beginning, because of the unpreparedness of their pupils, devoted largely to work of elementary and secondary nature. Their purpose was, however, distinctly for higher education. The names by which they go and the provisions of their charters testify to this.

As stated above, the college department of Wilberforce University in Ohio was established in 1856. This is the only institution especially for Negroes to establish a college department before emancipation. In Lincoln University, Pa., the college department was established in 1864. Other institutions established these departments as soon as what seemed a sufficient number of their pupils were prepared to take up college studies; Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1868; Straight University, New Orleans, La., in 1869; Leland University, New Orleans, La., in 1870; Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., in 1870; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., in 1871; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., in 1872. Before 1880 eleven such institutions had established college departments.

The next twenty years were characterized by the rapid multiplication of Southern institutions for the higher education of the Negroes. During this time there developed two other classes of institutions contributing in some measure to higher education: first, those organized, officered and supported by the Negroes; secondly, those generally known as the state agricultural and mechanical colleges. With the growth of the American Negroes in independence and with their practical exclusion from the Southern white churches there developed strong Negro churches and independent Negro denominations. These churches established schools for their own people, under the control of their several denominations. The schools often aspired, sometimes with reasonable success, to be institutions of higher education.

The agricultural and mechanical colleges for the Negroes are institutions supported by the Southern States with that portion of their federal land grant funds which they choose to assign to their Negro citizens. As the name implies these institutions devote their chief energies to industrial and agricultural training. There are also courses for training teachers. The Georgia State Industrial College for Negro youth is of this type. On June 10 eleven pupils were graduated from the academic course and thirty-four from the industrial departments. The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College gives the degree of B.S. for those who satisfactorily meet the requirements. Some of the Southern States take genuine pride in the state institutions for Negroes and make generous appropriations for their maintenance. In 1912 the Alabama State Normal School received \$17,000 and the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College \$12,000 from state appropriations. The presidents and teachers of the state schools are Negroes and the salaries paid are frequently better than those paid in the institutions supported by Northern philanthropy.

The number of educational enterprises for Southern Negroes which are doing at least some work of college grade is so great as to be bewildering; and calls for some attempt wisely to discriminate among them and to determine the value of the work they are doing. Three years ago such an attempt was made by the sociological department of Atlanta University in connection with the fifteenth annual Atlanta conference for the study of Negro problems. The report of this study is published under the title "The College-Bred Negro American." More recently, in November and December, 1912, Mr. W. T. B. Williams, field agent of the John F. Slater Fund, made a comparative study of the Negro universities in the South. This was published by the Slater Fund as number 13 of their *Occasional Papers*. From these sources may be gained valuable information regarding Southern institutions for the higher education of the Negroes. The Atlanta study in discussing the Negro colleges makes a classification based upon high school work required for admission and the number of students enrolled in 1909-1910 in classes of college grade, whether in the normal or college departments. There were twenty-three institutions which required fourteen units of high school work for admission to college classes, the amount of work laid down by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement

of Teaching as necessary to prepare adequately for college entrance. Of the twenty-three, eleven had more than twenty students of college rank. Nine others were doing work of college grade. The following conclusion was reached:

As has been shown, there are about thirty-two colored institutions doing college work; but the leading colleges according to the Carnegie Foundation units, which have a reasonable number of students are: Howard University, Fisk University, Atlanta University, Wiley University, Leland University, Virginia Union University, Clark University, Knoxville College, Spelman Seminary, Claflin University, Atlanta Baptist College (now Morehouse College), Lincoln University, Talladega College.

Mr. Williams concludes his study of twenty-two Negro universities in the South with the following statements:

A few of these universities or other colleges doing similar work might be taken and so developed as to meet practically all the needs of Negro youth for many years. All things considered, the best six of these colored universities are Howard, Fisk, Virginia Union, Atlanta, Shaw and Wiley. These schools have already been of exceptional service in the higher development of the colored people. Each one has built up for itself a good following. And they are all fairly well located as educational centers for the ampler training of the brighter Negro youth of the South.

It must not, however, be forgotten that, as a study of the facilities for the higher education of the Negro in the South, this consideration of the Negro universities alone is arbitrarily narrow and incomplete. There are at least five other institutions with less pretentious titles doing as advanced and as effective work as seven-eighths of these universities. They are: Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.; Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse College) Atlanta, Ga.; Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.; Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.; Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. And there are at least a dozen other colleges whose work will not suffer in comparison with that of more than half the universities.

It should be noted that Mr. Williams' study is confined to Southern universities and therefore does not include Wilberforce and Lincoln.

Judging solely from the number of institutions offering college courses one might conclude that higher education for the Negroes was being overdone; but as a matter of fact only a small proportion of the students enrolled in the institutions in question are engaged in college work. Practically all of the colleges have also high school departments. This is made necessary by the failure of the South

to provide in the public schools for the high school education of the Negroes. Most of the institutions also have classes in the grades. Tables compiled by the Atlanta University study show in the thirty-two institutions the following enrollment:

Number of students in college classes.....	1,131
Number of students in high school classes.....	3,896
Number in grades.....	6,845
Professional.....	1,602
Total.....	13,474

Of all students of college grade and below only about 9.5 per cent were enrolled in college classes. A similar study of twenty-two universities by Mr. Williams shows only about 11 per cent enrolled in college classes.

Most of the institutions founded by the church societies offer theological courses though none of them has made the academic requirements very rigid. Mr. Williams reports that "Shaw, Virginia Union and Howard are perhaps doing more than the others to raise the grade of their regular work to that of well recognized theological schools." The Meharry Medical School of Walden University in Nashville enrolled 523 students this year. Two other universities offer graduate courses in law and medicine which qualify graduates to pass state examinations and practice successfully. Their enrollment reported for 1913 is as follows:

	PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS		
	Theological	Law	Medical
Shaw University, Raleigh....	19	8	156
Howard University, Washington.....	97	121	341

In the four institutions named above there are 1,295 students enrolled in the professional schools, representing the best work of this type done by the Southern Negro universities. Many of the brightest students of the Southern colleges have later graduated in professional studies in Northern universities.

The value of the higher education of the Negroes can be best determined by the record of the college graduates. In making the Atlanta University study, a questionnaire was sent out from which

answers were received from eight hundred Negro college graduates, a number which was estimated as covering about one-fourth of the entire number of living graduates and therefore considered typical of the whole group.

Of the number reporting 53.8 per cent were engaged in teaching, 20 per cent in preaching, 7 per cent in medicine and 3.8 per cent in law; the others were engaged in various occupations. It appears that the largest group is engaged in the work for which the first colleges were founded; they have become "teachers for those requiring to be taught." The three professions claiming the next largest numbers without question demand for the best service the most liberal education possible.

The whole system of public education in the South from the grammar school to the state college provides for the separate education of the two races; and almost without exception the Negro schools are presided over and taught by people of their own race. Most of the private schools of the industrial type and those doing work of secondary grade are also taught by Negroes. It may be said without question that such measure of success as these institutions have attained has been largely due to the teacher training of the institutions of higher education.

From information recently obtained from fifteen of the Southern state normal and agricultural schools it appears that 142 of their 347 teachers, all of them colored, are graduates of colleges. That is, 41 per cent, or about two-fifths of the teachers in the state schools for Negroes are college graduates. Of the 186 teachers and instructors at Tuskegee Institute 45, or 24 per cent, are college graduates. On the other hand there may always be found in the better Negro colleges graduates of the industrial schools who have proved themselves capable of further study. There are now several Tuskegee graduates studying at Atlanta University and several Atlanta graduates teaching at Tuskegee. This suggests that the two types of education are but branches of the same great work, the work of educating a race.

The question of the relative importance of industrial and higher education for the Negroes has led to much fruitless discussion. The truth is that both types of training are indispensable for the proper education of the people; and neither can fulfil its mission without coöperation with the other. The advantage of such industrial training as that offered by Hampton Institute is established beyond the

shadow of a doubt. One of the surest evidences of this is that it is no longer urged as a peculiar method of dealing with Negro youth, but that it has influenced and modified our opinions regarding the whole question of public school training for the children of America, tending to emphasize the organic, vital relationship between education and the problems of every day life. Hampton has been a pioneer in the campaign for vocational training not of the Negroes alone but of all Americans. As a special type of training adapted to the Negroes, it may have had opponents, but as a type of training making for efficient citizenship and specially adapted to the needs of a multitude of American citizens it has acquired a position where its friends and advocates need fear no opposition. There may be those who would allow vocational training to crowd academic instruction to the wall but the true followers of General Armstrong are not among them. And who would argue that because industrial education of this sort is good for white youth the colleges of New England should be turned into industrial or technical schools?

The higher education of the Negroes is quite a different question today from what it was fifty years ago. Like any question involving so large a number of citizens and containing so many human elements, it is a matter of national rather than sectional concern; still it must affect the Negroes and the South more directly than any other part of the nation. There are elements to deal with today which either did not exist or were practically ignored fifty years ago. At that time we did not ask the Negro if he wanted higher education and we did not consult his former master to know whether it was advisable. Northern philanthropy took the Negro by the hand and said, "I know that you have the ability to learn," and then opened before him the door of opportunity.

There were many who ridiculed the effort, saying that it was foredoomed to failure, and among them were people of the South who thought they understood the Negro race and knew its limitations. Today we must work with the Negro rather than for him. How shall we know what is best for the race without taking into our counsels the thousands of its college graduates?

Another element which must not be ignored in any educational effort for the Negroes is that growing class of Southern white people who appreciate the educational needs of the colored people as American citizens and who sympathize with their best aspirations. Dr. W. D. Weatherford, a Southerner and secretary of the Young Men's

Christian Association has organized in Southern white colleges classes for the study of the Negro problem. In 1912 there were enrolled in these classes 6,000 college men. This study has done much to quicken the interest and sympathy of white college students in the welfare of Southern Negroes.

At the second session of the Southern Sociological Congress held in Atlanta last April there was a section devoted to the discussion of the Negro problems. Dr. James H. Dillard presided and Dr. Weatherford acted as secretary. Addresses were made by white and colored delegates and both entered into the open discussions. Some of the addresses most sympathetic to the Negroes and most courageous in their condemnation of the evils of race prejudice were delivered by young professors in Southern white colleges. At the last general gathering of the congress a significant remark was made by a young colored teacher in Morehouse College. He said, in substance, "I have been greatly encouraged by the attitude of sympathy and fairness taken by young men of the white race toward the Negroes in this congress. Nothing can better make for progress than the mutual understanding and coöperation of the young college men of both races." This is certainly true, and the college education of both should help make possible wise coöperation.

And what is the attitude of these two elements—the educated Negroes and the educated Southern white people—toward the higher education of the Negroes? One question asked of the Negro college graduates in the Atlanta University investigation was, "How shall you educate your children?" The report says, "By far the greater number of those making reply are planning to give their children the advantages of a college education, hoping thereby to properly equip them for life's work, whether in the trades or in the professions." Typical answers are, "I believe in educating the child to make the best citizen; a college education to those who will take it," and, "It is my intention to give them the very best education that they can assimilate."

In answer to the question, "What is your present practical philosophy in regard to the Negro race in America?" there were many interesting answers upon which the following comment is made:

A careful reading of the above quotations from the replies of the Negro college graduates discloses on the whole a hopeful and encouraging attitude on the part of these educated men and women. Though hampered by prejudice and its accompanying discriminations as well as by lack of opportunity

these men and women are for the most part hopeful of the future of the Negro race in America.

Of this we may be certain, every Negro who receives a modern college education worthy of the name will be fully aware of the discriminations and injustices that fall to his lot because he is a Negro and lives in America. And it is a question how long he will endure with patience the disabilities under which he lives at present on this account. The answers to the questionnaire make repeated claim to equality before the law, full citizenship rights and privileges, the right to vote and unrestricted educational opportunities. What educated American citizen would demand less?

We cannot expect that all Southern white people, even those who have received the benefits of higher education, will sympathize with the educated Negroes or applaud their sentiments of independence. But there is a growing number who will.

In 1909 the Rev. Quincy Ewing of Napoleonville, La., addressed to Dr. Horace Bumstead a letter from which I shall quote in concluding; for here we have an expression of a Southern white man regarding the higher education of the Negro which will remind us strongly of the noble motives prompting the establishment of colleges for the Negroes fifty years ago.

You are very right to feel that the efforts you and others are making in behalf of Atlanta University have not only my approval but also my applause. I could not feel otherwise except on one of two grounds, viz., that the higher education is not good for a human being; or that the Negro is not really a human being. If he is a human being, he has as much right as I to everything that is humanly uplifting, to everything that makes for a complete and exalted humanness. A denial of the Negro's essential humanness is involved in every argument I have ever heard against his higher education: a denial equivalent to the affirmation, that the Negro should not be what *he* wants to be, not what he is capable of being, but what other people, his superiors, find it agreeable to themselves for him to be.

The untrammelled education of any subordinate race so easily segregated as the Negroes, must be painfully uphill work, until the spirit of true democracy becomes dominant among us; or until the mark of true aristocracy shall be among us, scorn of the idea that one man is born to serve another of a different kind, and love of the idea that every man is born to serve every other of every kind. If there were only some way to get the majority of us educated by the spirit of what is really democracy, or by the spirit of what is really aristocracy—only some way of solving this fundamental problem, all our other educational problems would be the simplest things with which we have to deal!

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Fifty years ago the Negro people of the United States started out empty handed, without property, without education and with very little knowledge or experience, on a great adventure. Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation had given them their freedom, and the two war amendments to the constitution had made them citizens of the United States and given them the ballot. With these they started out in the new world so to speak to seek their fortunes which freedom had opened to them.

Although slavery and the Negro had been the real issue between the North and the South in the Civil War, when the war was over the Negro was not without friends in both sections of the country. There were numbers of people both in the South and in the North, who wished the Negro well, and were glad to advise him and help him to make his way under the new conditions in which he found himself.

The difficulty was that the two sections of the country held diametrically opposite notions as to the best way to proceed. In the long controversy which followed, the bewildered freedman was like a ball that is batted from one side to another by rival players in a game. The result was that the Negro got most of the knocks and, in the end, was thrown pretty much on his own resources and compelled to make his own way as best he could.

As was to be expected under the circumstances, the Negro, for a number of years, groped his way along and often strayed from the direct path, but in spite of all he made progress—great progress, in fact—when all the circumstances are considered.

It is my purpose, in the article which follows, to tell something of the progress which the Negro has made during these years in the matter of education, and to indicate, so far as I am able, the direction in which further progress may be expected in the future.

Let me say, to begin with, that one of the first and most important things which emancipation did for the Negro and the South

was to bring into existence a public school system. Previous to the Civil War there had been no public school system worthy of the name, in the slave states, so that, whatever anyone may say in regard to the wisdom or lack of wisdom in giving the Negro the ballot, it should not be forgotten that it was the Negro vote which gave the white man the public school.

Negro education began in the South, however, several years before there were any Negro votes or any public school system. A little army of Yankee school ma'ams followed in the wake of the Northern armies and, wherever the federal forces succeeded in establishing themselves on Southern soil, schools for the education of the freedmen were started.

It was in September, 1861, that the first school for freedmen was started in the South. This school, established by the American Missionary Association, was located at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and it laid the foundation for the Hampton Institute, the first distinctively industrial school, so far as I know, to be established in the United States for either race.

After emancipation schools for the freedmen multiplied throughout the South, under the direction of the freedmen's bureau, which had charge of the education of the freedmen from 1865 to 1870, when its work was discontinued. Either under its direction, or in coöperation with it, there were established during this short period 2,677 schools with 3,300 teachers and 149,587 pupils.

Statistics give but a poor conception of the character of these early freedmen's schools. Most of them were located in abandoned buildings of some kind or other. Some of them were established in old army barracks; others were started in churches, and still others were held out in the open, under the shade of a convenient tree. Children and old men sat side by side upon the rude benches. Those who were not able to go to school in the daytime went to school at night, and those who could not find time to go to school during the other days in the week crowded into the Sabbath schools on Sunday.

Old blue back spellers were dug up out of odd corners into which they had been hidden away during slavery times and, with these and such other books as they could find, the whole race set out to master the mystery of letters. The most pathetic figures, in all the eager and excited throng which crowded into the school

rooms, were the old men and women who hoped before they died to be able to learn to read the one book of which they had any knowledge, namely, the Bible.

The first report of the United States commissioner was published in 1870. From the scattered and fragmentary figures and statements which it offers, one is able to gain some notion of the condition of the Negro schools at that time. In Alabama the report of the general superintendent of the freedmen's bureau, which the commissioner quotes, indicated that there were 155 schools, with 168 teachers and 11,531 pupils. At this time, also, Alabama had 49 Negro Sabbath schools, with 244 teachers and 8,744 pupils. The number of pupils paying tuition in the day schools was 633 and the amount of money collected from these pupils was \$1,248.95. By 1872 conditions had much improved. At this time there were enrolled in the colored schools of Alabama 54,334 pupils, with an average attendance of 41,308. This was an increase of 25,000 over the previous year.

In 1881, the year in which the Tuskegee Institute was started in Macon County, Ala., the condition of the schools throughout the state was not much better than it had been nine years before. There were 68,951 pupils enrolled, with an average attendance of 48,476. The average length of the school year in the public schools was seventy-eight days. Only about one-third of the Negro children of school age were enrolled in the schools and not more than 28 per cent were in actual attendance.

In South Carolina the Negro public schools in 1870 were not as far advanced, so far as one can judge from the reports, than they were in Alabama at the same period. The failure of the general assembly to pass a school bill had left the public schools without funds, and the report states that "the children of the state are growing up in ignorance." Reports from the counties showed that "the chief obstacles to an efficient school system are the want of funds, the indifference resulting from ignorance, and a deep-rooted prejudice on the part of both races to mixed schools." The superintendent of the freedmen's schools furnished information of the existence of eight schools for Negroes with an enrollment of 3,500. One of these was a freedmen's pay school supported entirely by colored people.

Directly after the war conditions in some of the Northern

States were not much better than they were in the South. In Illinois, for example, Negro children were almost wholly ignored in the common school legislation, except that a provision was made that the money paid by Negroes in the form of taxes should be applied to Negro education. In practice, however, this was not done. Still in some of the towns of the state adequate provision was made for the colored children. In Indiana Negro education was not much better provided for than in Illinois. The law provided that Negro children should be educated apart and, in accordance with this law, the city of Indianapolis set aside two school buildings for the use of the colored children, "although," the report adds, "they have been for several years out of use because of their unfitness."

On the other hand, the city of Baltimore, Md., had at this time 63 schools for colored children and in addition to this an efficient normal school with 5 teachers and 210 pupils. In other parts of the state, however, the colored public schools, so far as any indications given in the reports show, did not exist. The law provided that the money paid in taxes by colored people should be used for the education of the colored children. The records show that the sum of \$951.27, collected from Negro tax-payers in six counties, had been charged as paid out to colored schools, but there was no report of any such schools existing.

The vague and indefinite character of these reports suggests the condition and the character of the early Negro schools. This was to be expected. The Civil War had brought financial ruin to the Southern States; there was neither money nor means to build school houses and maintain schools. In some respects, in spite of their poverty and their ignorance, the freedmen were in a better situation than their former masters. They had, at least, the physical strength and training for rough work of the fields and it was this kind of labor that was necessary to make a beginning.

Besides all else the country was torn and distracted with political controversies, and public sentiment was indifferent when it was not hostile to Negro education. All of these facts should be considered when an attempt is made to estimate the progress of Negro education during these early years and since.

Notwithstanding these difficulties Negro education has made progress from the first. In 1877, when the first general summary

of the statistics of education in the Southern States was made, it appeared that there were 571,506 colored children and 1,827,139 white children enrolled in the public schools of the sixteen former slave states and the District of Columbia. By 1909 the number of children enrolled in the colored schools had increased to 1,712,137. This was, however, but 56.34 per cent of the total colored school population.

Meanwhile the illiteracy of the Negro in the Southern States has been reduced from something like 95 per cent of the whole population, at the beginning of freedom, to 33.3 per cent in 1910. In the United States as a whole the number of Negroes who could neither read nor write was at this time 30.4 per cent of the whole Negro population.

A further evidence of the progress which Negro education had made in forty-seven years is the number of high schools maintained for Negroes in different parts of the country. Not all of these, however, were located in the Southern States. Of the 141 colored high schools supported by states and municipalities, reported by the commissioner of education in 1910, there were 4 in Alabama, 6 in Arkansas, 1 in Delaware, 1 in the District of Columbia, 6 in Florida, 11 in Georgia, 7 in Kentucky, 8 in Mississippi, 1 in Maryland, 21 in Missouri, 3 in Oklahoma, 4 in South Carolina, 7 in Tennessee, 36 in Texas, 5 in Virginia, 5 in West Virginia. Besides these there were high schools for Negroes in other states: Illinois 4, Indiana 6, Kansas 1, Ohio 2, Pennsylvania 1.

Although the statistics indicate that Negro illiteracy has been steadily reduced until at the present time more than two-thirds of the whole Negro population is able both to read and write, this much could not have been accomplished unless the work of the public schools had been supplemented by that of other schools maintained by private philanthropy.

It is safe to say that, of the 34,000 Negro teachers now carrying on the work of the public schools in the South, the majority, if not all, of these who have obtained anything like an adequate training for their work, have been educated in schools that have been maintained, in whole or in part, by private philanthropy. The number of these schools has grown steadily with the growth of the public schools and especially in recent years there have sprung up a multitude of smaller academies and so-called colleges, supported

to a very large extent by the colored people themselves, which have supplemented and to some extent extended the work of the public schools.

As near as I am able to determine there are not fewer than 600 schools of various kinds, colleges, academies, industrial and professional schools, supported for the most part by private philanthropy in different Southern and Northern States. About 400 of these, I should say, are small schools which are doing the work of the public schools in the primary grades.

Of these smaller schools there are at present no statistics available to indicate the character and extent of the work they are doing. Of the 189 larger and more advanced schools of which there is record, the statistics show that they have 2,941 teachers and 57,915 pupils. Of the pupils in these schools, which include practically all of the institutions doing secondary college work, 19,654 are in the secondary grades; 3,214 are collegiate students, and 32,967 are in the elementary grades. In addition to these 2,080 are pursuing professional studies and 29,954 are getting industrial training of some sort or other.

Although the number of schools calling themselves colleges is relatively large the vast majority of their students are in the elementary or secondary grades. For example, in the 189 schools referred to in the foregoing paragraph, nearly 60 per cent are in the elementary grades and only 5.5 per cent are pursuing collegiate studies. In fact, up to 1910 a careful study of the Negro college graduates indicates that altogether, from 1820 to 1909, the number of Negroes who had completed a course of study in a college or a University was not more than 3,856 and of this number about 700 had graduated from Northern schools.

It has been estimated that since 1870 the sixteen former slave states have contributed about \$1,200,000,000 to the support of their public schools. Of this amount \$160,000,000 went to the support of the Negro schools.

I have not been able to determine with any accuracy the amount which has been contributed since emancipation to Negro education by religious and philanthropic agencies. As near as can be estimated it has amounted to about \$50,000,000. To this should be added about \$20,000,000 more which has been contributed by Negroes through their churches and other organizations.

The progress of Negro education has undoubtedly been more rapid during the past ten years than during any previous similar period. Not only have several Southern cities built and equipped first class high schools for the benefit of their colored populations, but there has also been a marked advance, particularly in recent years, in the character of the colored rural schools in many parts of the country. This has been due to the work of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund in coöperation with the county superintendents, the rural industrial schools and the colored people themselves, in the communities in which these schools are located.

A number of cities in the South, notably Louisville, Ky., have done much to put Negro education on a sound basis by the establishment of branch libraries for the use of their colored populations. Until very recently there have been few places in the South where Negroes have had access to any large collection of books. Even the Negro colleges have been able to provide few if any modern books for the use of their students. Recently several of the larger schools, through the generosity of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, erected handsome and commodious library buildings and are now gradually accumulating the books necessary for serviceable working and reference libraries.

The total annual expenditures for Negro education at the present time indicate to some extent the efficiency of Negro education, although Rural School Supervisor Tate, of South Carolina, says that, after a careful study of the conditions of the rural schools he has reached the conclusion that a large part of the money expended by South Carolina is wasted.

He says in his report for 1911 and 1912: "During the year I have visited many schools in which three hours of demonstration work and practical suggestion would double the efficiency of an earnest but inexperienced teacher. The education of the Negro in South Carolina," he adds, "is in the hands of the white race. The white trustees apportion the funds, select the teachers and receive the reports. The county superintendent has the supervision of these schools in his hands. We have expended this year \$349,834.60 in the support of the Negro schools. I have never visited one of these schools without feeling that we were wasting a large part of this money and neglecting a great opportunity."

The total expenditures for Negro schools in the United States

in 1911 and 1912 amounted to \$13,061,700. Of this amount the sum of \$8,645,846 was contributed to the support of the public schools by the sixteen former slave states, the District of Columbia and Oklahoma. The total amount expended by states and municipalities for secondary and higher education was \$758,972. To this sum should be added \$299,267, contributed by the federal government and \$3,359,615 from other sources, making the total expenditures for the secondary and higher education of the Negro in the United States as a whole, \$4,415,854. Negroes represent 11 per cent of the population and receive about 2 per cent of the school funds for their education.

I have tried, in what I have written thus far, to indicate, so far as it is possible to do so by means of statistics and formal statements, the progress which the Negro has made in education during the fifty years of freedom. There have, however, been so much change and progress in Negro education that no statistics, which merely show for schools or the proportion of children in the schools, can give any adequate account.

If I were asked what I believe to be the greatest advance which Negro education has made since emancipation I should say that it had been in two directions: first, the change which has taken place, among the masses of the Negro people, as to what education really is and, second, the change that has taken place, among the masses of the white people, in the South, toward Negro education itself.

I can perhaps make clear what I mean by a little explanation. The Negro learned in slavery to work but he did not learn to respect labor. On the contrary, the Negro was constantly taught, directly and indirectly during slavery times, that labor was a curse. It was the curse of Canaan, he was told, that condemned the black man to be for all time the slave and servant of the white man. It was the curse of Canaan that made him for all time "a hewer of wood and drawer of water." The consequence of this teaching was that, when emancipation came, the Negro thought freedom must, in some way, mean freedom from labor.

The Negro had also gained in slavery some general notions in regard to education. He observed that the people who had education for the most part belonged to the aristocracy, to the master class, while the people who had little or no education were usually of the class known as "poor whites." In this way education became

associated, in his mind, with leisure, with luxury, and freedom from the drudgery of work with the hands.

Another thing that the Negro learned in slavery about education was that it was something that was denied to the man who was a slave. Naturally, as soon as freedom came, he was in a great hurry to get education as soon as possible. He wanted education more than he wanted land or property or anything else, except, perhaps, public office. Although the Negro had no very definite notion in regard to education, he was pretty sure that, whatever else it might be, it had nothing to do with work, especially work with the hands.

In order to make it possible to put Negro education on a sound and rational basis, it has been necessary to change the opinion of the masses of the Negro people in regard to education and labor. It has been necessary to make them see that education which did not, directly or indirectly, connect itself with the practical daily interests of daily life could hardly be called education. It has been necessary to make the masses of the Negroes see and realize the necessity and importance of applying what they learned in school to the common and ordinary things of life; to see that education, far from being a means of escaping labor, is a means of raising up and dignifying labor and thus, indirectly a means of raising up and dignifying the common and ordinary man. It has been necessary to teach the masses of the people that the way to build up a race is to begin at the bottom and not at the top, to lift the man furthest down, and thus raise the whole structure of society above him.

On the other hand, it has been necessary to demonstrate to the white man in the South that education does not "spoil" the Negro, as it had been so often predicted that it would. It was necessary to make him actually see that education makes the Negro not an idler or spendthrift, but a more industrious thrifty, law-abiding and useful citizen than he otherwise would be.

As there never was any hope of educating the great mass of the Negroes in the South outside of the public schools, so there was no hope of a thoroughly efficient school system until the Southern white man was convinced that Negro education was of some real value, not only to the Negro himself, but also to the community.

The task of changing the popular opinion of both races in the South in regard to the value and meaning of Negro education, has

fallen very largely to the industrial schools. The first great task of these schools has been to teach the masses of the Negro people that every form of labor is honorable and that every form of idleness is disgraceful. The second great task has been to prove to the masses of the Southern people, by actual living examples, that money invested in Negro education pays, when that education is real and not a sham.

As far as the masses of the Negro people are concerned, this task is pretty nearly completed. There was a time at Tuskegee when parents objected to their children doing work with the hands in connection with their school work. They said they wanted their children to study books, and the more books and the bigger the books, the better they were satisfied. At the present time at Tuskegee, the work in the shops and on the farm is just as interesting, just as much sought after by pupils, as work in the class room. So great has been the change in the attitude of the masses of the people in this regard that a school which does not advertise some sort of industrial training finds it difficult to get students. At the present time almost every Negro school teaches some sort of industry and the number of schools which advertise themselves as industrial institutes is constantly increasing. There are, for example, not fewer than four hundred little schools in the South today which call themselves industrial schools, although, in many instances, these schools are doing little, if anything more, in the direction of industrial training than the public schools.

But if there has been a change in the opinion of the masses of the colored people in regard to education, there has been an equally great change in the attitude of the Southern white people in regard to the education of the Negro.

There never was a time when the thoughtful, sober people in the South did not perceive the necessity of educating the Negro, not merely for the sake of the Negro himself, but for the sake of the South. Some of the strongest and wisest friends of Negro education have been men who were born or lived in the South. The Hon. William H. Rufner, who inaugurated the first public school system in Virginia and was state superintendent of education in that state from 1870 to 1882, made a strong and statesmanlike plea for the education of all the people, black and white, in his first annual report. From that day to this there have always been wise

and courageous men in the South who were ready at all times to go out of their way to urge the necessity of giving the Negro equal opportunities with the white man, not only for education but also for advancement in every other direction.

On the other hand it can not be denied that the mass of Southern white people have been until recent years, either positively hostile or else indifferent toward Negro education.

No one who studied the trend of opinion in the South can fail to realize that there has been a great change in the attitude of the white people of the South in regard to the education of the Negro within, say, the last five years. There is every evidence, at the present time, that the Southern people have determined to take up in a serious way the education of the Negro, and the black man is to have better opportunities, not only in the matter of education, but also in every other direction.

One indication of this changed attitude is the fact that all through the South state and county superintendents are beginning to take a more real and active interest in the progress of the Negro schools. Five Southern States have already appointed assistant state superintendents of schools whose sole duty will be to look after the interest of the Negro schools. In many instances Negro supervisors have been appointed to assist the county superintendents in the work of improving the Negro schools. Usually these Negro supervisors have been supported, in whole or in part, by funds furnished by the Anna T. Jeanes Fund for the improvement of the colored rural schools.

As an indication of the interest which this work among the colored rural schools has aroused, I can not do better than quote from a recent letter written by County Superintendent Oliver, of Tallapoosa County, Ala., and published in the *Alabama Progressive School Journal*, at Birmingham, Ala. Superintendent Oliver says:

Perhaps no one thing has claimed the attention of our educators of late that means more for our rural schools than efficient school supervision. If anything more was needed to convince me of its supreme importance I have but to call to mind what it has done for our colored schools in Tallapoosa County during the present scholastic year.

Learning that Dr. J. H. Dillard, of New Orleans, was president of the Negro Rural School Fund, founded by Anna T. Jeanes, I opened correspondence with him, resulting in securing Prof. Thomas J. Edwards for this purpose, his expenses being defrayed by this Fund.

On November 1, 1911, Edwards reported to me for work. After mapping out his line of work, Edwards commenced visiting the colored schools in the country, making weekly reports to me, and getting further directions for each ensuing week. He commenced at once to organize in each colored school visited a school improvement association, coöperative corn and cotton clubs, where school children and patrons cultivate the grounds, taking lessons in agriculture at the same time, and agreeing that the proceeds arising therefrom should enure to the benefit of the school in equipping the same and extending the school term, introducing manual training, both for boys and girls.

Edwards kept me fully posted as to his work, and it is simply wonderful how much has been accomplished in a short time.

I have visited several of his schools in person and the improvement is most striking. The school yards have been cleared and planted in trees and flowers; corn clubs have been organized and work done on the little farms, and manual art and domestic science introduced into most of these schools, where wood work, raffia and straw basket making and sewing are being learned by the children, who seem cheerful, industrious and making progress, while this work does not seem to decrease their interest in their books.

About two months ago an exhibition of work done in these schools was given in the colored Baptist church in Dadeville, and it was a revelation and a surprise to all attending. The several schools vied with each other. In the exhibits could be seen axe handles, shuck foot-mats, etc., executed by the boys, who told of what they were doing on the school farms; while girls showed baskets and hats of all sizes and shapes wrought from raffia, straw and shucks, as well as all kinds of needle work, from the coarsest fabrics to the finest hand work in center pieces.

This general interest brought about by social contact and community coöperation has resulted in lengthening school terms from two to three months and the organization and establishment of the Tallapoosa County Colored Fair, to be held in New Adka community, in this county, on November 14-15, 1912. An extensive premium list has already been printed and circulated, offering premiums to successful contestants where the purpose is to encourage the manual arts in schools and increase agricultural production by colored farmers.

I have quoted this letter of Superintendent Oliver at some length for two reasons: first because it gives a succinct description of the manner in which industrial education is now being introduced through the agency of the Jeanes Fund, into colored schools in many parts of the South and, second, because it illustrates, better than any words that I am able to write, the sort of interest and enthusiasm which the effort to improve the public schools in modern and practical ways has created among the members of both races in the South.

I ought to add that Mr. T. J. Edwards, the supervising teacher mentioned in this letter, is a graduate of Hampton Institute and was employed for several years at Tuskegee Institute, where he did a similar work in the county immediately around that school.

What makes this letter interesting from another point of view is that it is written by a man who is dealing at first hand with Negro education in the county of which he is superintendent. The interest which Mr. Oliver has expressed in the work of the Negro schools is, for that reason, representative of the sentiment of the average intelligent citizen of the county and illustrates the new interest of the average intelligent and public spirited white man in the South on the subject of Negro education. I mention this fact because it is the opinion of the average white man that is going to determine, in the long run, the extent to which the Negro school is going to secure the consideration and support of the state and the community in the work which it is trying to do.

What, you may ask, has brought about this change of sentiment of the average white man toward the colored school?

One thing that has done as much as anything else to bring about the change has been the demonstration farming movement. Demonstration farming has taught the average farmer the importance of applying science and skill to the work of the farm and he has argued that, what this sort of education has done for the white farmer it will also do for the colored farmer. He has foreseen, also, that the education which makes the Negro a better farmer will make the South a richer community. That is one reason that the average Southern white man has come to take an interest in Negro education.

Another thing that has helped to bring about this change is that the Southern white man has seen for himself the effects of Negro education upon the Negro.

There is no way in which industrial schools, like Hampton and Tuskegee, have done more to change the sentiment of both races in regard to education and so prepare the way for the building up of a real and efficient system of Negro education in the South than in the character of the graduates that have gone out from these schools and from others, to work in the rural communities as teachers and leaders, and to illustrate in their own lives the practical value of the education they have obtained.

In referring in this way to the manner in which the industrial schools have helped to change sentiment and create sympathy for Negro education among the masses of the white people in the South I do not intend to say that the graduates of other institutions, with different aims, have not done their part. I merely intend to emphasize the fact that the industrial schools have made it part of their program to connect the work in the schools with the practical interests of the people about them, and that they have everywhere sought to emphasize the fact that the function of the school is not merely to teach a certain number of class room studies to a certain number of students, but to use the school as a means for building up and improving the moral and material life of the communities in which these schools are located.

In conclusion let me add that, although much has been accomplished in the past, much still remains to be done. We have not yet obtained in the South anything like the results we can and should obtain under a thoroughly efficient system of public schools.

Not since the Christian missionaries set out from Rome to Christianize and civilize the people of western Europe, I am almost tempted to say, has there ever been a social experiment undertaken on so large a scale as that which was begun fifty years ago with the founding of the first Negro school in the South. As yet that experiment is but half completed. No one can yet say what Negro education can accomplish for the Negro and the South because Negro education has never been thoroughly tried.

At last, however, it seems as if the time had come when white people and colored people, North and South, might come together in order to take up really and seriously the work which was begun with the emancipation of the slaves. If this is true, then, this fact indicates better than any statistics can possibly do, the progress which Negro education has made in fifty years.

THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE AND ART

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The Negro is primarily an artist. The usual way of putting this is to speak disdainfully of his sensuous nature. This means that the only race which has held at bay the life destroying forces of the tropics, has gained therefrom in some slight compensation a sense of beauty, particularly for sound and color, which characterizes the race. The Negro blood which flowed in the veins of many of the mightiest of the Pharaohs accounts for much of Egyptian art, and indeed, Egyptian civilization owes much in its origins to the development of the large strain of Negro blood which manifested itself in every grade of Egyptian society.

Semitic civilization also had its Negroid influences, and these continually turn toward art as in the case of Nosseyeb, one of the five great poets of Damascus under the Omniades. It was therefore not to be wondered at that in modern days one of the greatest of modern literatures, the Russian, should have been founded by Pushkin, the grandson of a full blooded Negro, and that among the painters of Spain was the mulatto slave, Gomez. Back of all this development by way of contact, comes the artistic sense of the indigeneous Negro as shown in the stone figures of Sherbro, the bronzes of Benin, the marvelous handwork in iron and other metals which has characterized the Negro race so long that archeologists today, with less and less hesitation, are ascribing the discovery of the welding of iron to the Negro race.

To America, the Negro could bring only his music, but that was quite enough. The only real American music is that of the Negro American, except the meagre contribution of the Indian. Negro music divides itself into many parts: the older African wails and chants, the distinctively Afro-American folk song set to religious words and Calvinistic symbolism, and the newer music which the slaves adapted from surrounding themes. To this may be added the American music built on Negro themes such as "Suwanee River,"

"John Brown's Body," "Old Black Joe," etc. In our day Negro artists like Johnson and Will Marian Cook have taken up this music and begun a newer and most important development, using the syn-copated measure popularly known as "rag time," but destined in the minds of musical students to a great career in the future.

The expression in words of the tragic experiences of the Negro race is to be found in various places. First, of course, there are those, like Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote from without the race. Then there are black men like Es-Sadi who wrote the Epic of the Sudan, in Arabic, that great history of the fall of the greatest of Negro empires, the Songhay. In America the literary expression of Negroes has had a regular development. As early as the eighteenth century, and even before the Revolutionary War the first voices of Negro authors were heard in the United States.

Phyllis Wheatley, the black poetess, was easily the pioneer, her first poems appearing in 1773, and other editions in 1774 and 1793. Her earliest poem was in memory of George Whitefield. She was followed by the Negro, Olaudah Equiano—known by his English name of Gustavus Vassa—whose autobiography of 350 pages, published in 1787, was the beginning of that long series of personal appeals of which Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* is the latest. Benjamin Banneker's almanacs represented the first scientific work of American Negroes, and began to be issued in 1792.

Coming now to the first decades of the nineteenth century we find some essays on freedom by the African Society of Boston, and an apology for the new Negro church formed in Philadelphia. Paul Cuffe, disgusted with America, wrote an early account of Sierra Leone, while the celebrated Lemuel Haynes, ignoring the race question, dipped deeply into the New England theological controversy about 1815. In 1829 came the first full-voiced, almost hysterical, protest against slavery and the color line in David Walker's *Appeal* which aroused Southern legislatures to action. This was followed by the earliest Negro conventions which issued interesting minutes, and a strong appeal against disfranchisement in Pennsylvania.

In 1840 some strong writers began to appear. Henry Highland Garnet and J. W. C. Pennington preached powerful sermons and gave some attention to Negro history in their pamphlets; R. B. Lewis made a more elaborate attempt at Negro history. Whitfield's poems appeared in 1846, and William Wells Brown began a career of writ-

ing which lasted from 1847 until after the war. In 1845 Douglass' autobiography made its first appearance, destined to run through endless editions up until the last in 1893. Moreover it was in 1841 that the first Negro magazine appeared in America, edited by George Hogarth and published by the A. M. E. Church.

In the fifties William Wells Brown published his *Three Years in Europe*; James Whitfield published further poems, and a new poet arose in the person of Frances E. W. Harper, a woman of no little ability who died lately; Martin R. Delaney and William Nell wrote further of Negro history, Nell especially making valuable contributions to the history of the Negro soldiers. Three interesting biographies were added to this decade to the growing number: Josiah Henson, Samuel G. Ward and Samuel Northrop; while Catto, leaving general history, came down to the better known history of the Negro church.

In the sixties slave narratives multiplied, like that of Linda Brent, while two studies of Africa based on actual visits were made by Robert Campbell and Dr. Alexander Crummell; William Douglass and Bishop Daniel Payne continued the history of the Negro church, while William Wells Brown carried forward his work in general Negro history. In this decade, too, Bishop Tanner began his work in Negro theology.

Most of the Negro talent in the seventies was taken up in politics; the older men like Bishop Wayman wrote of their experiences; William Wells Brown wrote the *Rising Sun*, and Sojourner Truth added her story to the slave narratives. A new poet arose in the person of A. A. Whitman, while James M. Trotter was the first to take literary note of the musical ability of his race. Indeed this section might have been begun by some reference to the music and folklore of the Negro race; the music contained much primitive poetry and the folklore was one of the great contributions to American civilization.

In the eighties there are signs of unrest and different conflicting streams of thought. On the one hand the rapid growth of the Negro church is shown by the writers on church subjects like Moore and Wayman. The historical spirit was especially strong. Still wrote of the *Underground Railroad*; Simmons issued his interesting biographical dictionary, and the greatest historian of the race appeared when George W. Williams issued his two-volume history of the

Negro Race in America. The political turmoil was reflected in Langston's *Freedom and Citizenship*, Fortune's *Black and White*, and Straker's *New South*, and found its bitterest arraignment in Turner's pamphlets; but with all this went other new thought; a black man published his *First Greek Lessons*, Bishop Payne issued his *Treatise on Domestic Education*, and Stewart studied Liberia.

In the nineties came histories, essays, novels and poems, together with biographies and social studies. The history was represented by Payne's *History of the A. M. E. Church*, Hood's *History of the A. M. E. Zion Church*, Anderson's sketch of *Negro Presbyterianism* and Hagood's *Colored Man in the M. E. Church*; general history of the older type by R. L. Perry's *Cushite* and the newer type in Johnson's history, while one of the secret societies found their historian in Brooks; Crogman's essays appeared and Archibald Grimke's biographies. The race question was discussed in Frank Grimke's published sermons, while social studies were made by Penn, Wright, Mossell, Crummell, Majors and others. Most notable, however, was the rise of the Negro novelist and poet with national recognition; Frances Harper was still writing and Griggs began his racial novels, but both of these spoke primarily to the Negro race; on the other hand, Chestnut's six novels and Dunbar's inimitable works spoke to the whole nation.

Since 1900 the stream of Negro writing has continued. Dunbar has found a worthy successor in the less-known but more carefully cultured Braithwaite; Booker T. Washington has given us his biography and *Story of the Negro*; Kelly Miller's trenchant essays have appeared in book form; Sinclair's *Aftermath of Slavery* has attracted attention, as have the studies made by Atlanta University. The forward movement in Negro music is represented by J. W. and F. J. Work in one direction and Rosamond Johnson, Harry Burleigh and Will Marion Cook in another.

On the whole, the literary output of the American Negro has been both large and creditable, although, of course, comparatively little known; few great names have appeared and only here and there work that could be called first class, but this is not a peculiarity of Negro literature.

The time has not yet come for the great development of American Negro literature. The economic stress is too great and the racial persecution too bitter to allow the leisure and the poise for which

literature calls. On the other hand, never in the world has a richer mass of material been accumulated by a people than that which the Negroes possess today and are becoming conscious of. Slowly but surely they are developing artists of technic who will be able to use this material. The nation does not notice this for everything touching the Negro is banned by magazines and publishers unless it takes the form of caricature or bitter attack, or is so thoroughly innocuous as to have no literary flavor.

Outside of literature the American Negro has distinguished himself in other lines of art. One need only mention Henry O. Tanner whose pictures hang in the great galleries of the world, including the Luxembourg. There are a score of other less known colored painters of ability including Bannister, Harper, Scott and Brown. To these may be added the actors headed by Ira Aldridge, who played in Covent Garden, was decorated by the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, and made a member of learned societies.

There have been many colored composers of music. Popular songs like Grandfather's Clock, Listen to the Mocking Bird, Carry Me Back to Old Virginia, etc., were composed by colored men. There were a half dozen composers of ability among New Orleans freedmen and Harry Burleigh, Cook and Johnson are well known today. There have been sculptors like Edmonia Lewis, and singers like Flora Batson, whose color alone kept her from the grand opera stage.

To appraise rightly this body of art one must remember that it represents the work of those artists only whom accident set free; if the artist had a white face his Negro blood did not militate against him in the fight for recognition; if his Negro blood was visible white relatives may have helped him; in a few cases ability was united to indomitable will. But the shrinking, modest, black artist without special encouragement had little or no chance in a world determined to make him a menial. So this sum of accomplishment is but an imperfect indication of what the Negro race is capable of in America and in the world.



BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, PUBLICATIONS OF THE. Vol. VI. *Papers and Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1911.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912.

ANDERSON, F. I. *The Farmer of Tomorrow.* Pp. 308. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

The main contribution of this volume is a discussion of the relatively new doctrine that "The soil is the one indestructible, immutable asset that the nation possesses. It is the one resource that cannot be exhausted; that cannot be used up. It may be impaired by abuse, but never destroyed." This doctrine is compared with the former theory (and the one still taught, the author states, in the agricultural colleges, and held to by all the agricultural papers) that soils do wear out, and that the farmer must feed the soil, in proportion as his soil feeds his crop. The theory that the soil is an immutable asset accepts, of course, the fact that the soil may have its productiveness impaired or lowered, but it accounts for lower production on the ground that soils do not wear out but merely grow "fatigued." This new theory of soil fertility holds that each crop exudes a poison analogous to the poisons set free in the human system under fatigue, and that the proper method of restoring the fertility of the soil, therefore, is "to bring the flora and micro-fauna of the soil under control. Partial sterilization effects this; such antiseptics as chloroform, toluene, etc., eliminate certain organisms which check the useful bacteria. Heating to boiling for two hours doubles productivity and is practical in greenhouses. The problem is to domesticate the unseen flora and fauna of the soil, the useful races to be encouraged, the noxious races suppressed."

The book is interestingly written and full of many vital discussions. The author shows that 70 per cent of the farms are still being worked as a means of labor and not as business propositions, and feels that we are in a transition period between the older notion that the farm is a means of labor and the newer theory that it is a capital and must be made to pay interest. To show the significance of the increased amount of capital invested in farms, the author states that the tax value of the average acre of farm land in 1900 was \$15.57 while in 1910 it was \$32.40, an increase in land values during these ten years of 100.5 per cent.

ANDREWS, C. McLEAN. *The Colonial Period.* Pp. vii, 256. Price, 50 cents. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912.

This excellent volume in the Home University Library series differs in several interesting respects from the usual treatment of the American colonies. It emphasizes the conditions in England that affected the colonies and outlines the English policies of colonial control, thus making clear both the dependence

of early American history upon European conditions and, more specifically, the events leading to the Revolutionary War. Two chapters deal with England; two, with the colonies; and six, with the relations between the colonies and the home land and among the colonies themselves.

No effort is made to treat the colonies separately, nor to narrate their chronological development, but a broad view is taken of the British possessions in America as a whole, Canada and the West Indies included. In this way a unity of viewpoint is secured that is often sacrificed in the topical method of study. The chapters devoted to colonial, political and social characteristics and to economic life and influence are particularly suggestive and represent the newer tendencies in historical writing. For any one who has some knowledge of the detailed facts of colonial history, this book is perhaps the best treatment, within the compass of two hundred pages, of the colonial period as a whole.

BAGOT, RICHARD. *Italians of Today*. Pp. 187. Price, \$1.25. Chicago: F. G. Browne and Company, 1913.

Two objects stand out in this interesting little volume. The first is to present a description of the salient characteristics of the Italian people, the second to refute the charges made against the Italian soldiery of the Tripolitan war. The author has been a resident of the peninsula for many years and portrays Italian traits from an intimate personal knowledge. He feels that Englishmen are too apt in visiting Italy to see only the attractions of Rome and fail to give proper attention to the remarkable performances of modern Italy. This leads not only to a lamentable ignorance on the part of the English public but to a lack of understanding. This has estranged two nations which should stand shoulder to shoulder not only because of similarity of virtues but because of the coincidence of their interests in the Mediterranean. The author feels that the attitude of the English press during Italy's war with Turkey has produced an unfortunate conviction in the Italian mind that the English are not only misinformed but wilfully unfair. Documents are quoted at length to justify the Italian declaration of war and to prove that though the Italian treatment of the Arabs was severe it was highly justified by circumstances.

BARROWS, ISABEL C. *A Sunny Life—The Biography of Samuel J. Barrows*. Pp. xi, 323. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1913.

The many friends of the late Samuel June Barrows will welcome this biographical tribute. Mrs. Barrows has presented a wealth of personal material, together with a detailed account of his public career. It is given to but few men to exert a wider personal influence than did Dr. Barrows. Thrown upon his own resources as a mere lad, he struggled to secure an education, entered the liberal ministry, passed into editorial work, then to Congress, and later to the work to which the greater part of his life was devoted—that of the Prison Association of New York. At the time of his death he was president of the International Prison Congress. The success of the Washington Congress, 1910, was in a great measure due to his great ability in planning; but he did not live to preside.

BLAKEY, ROY G. *The United States Beet-Sugar Industry and the Tariff*. Pp. 286. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

BOGART, ERNEST L. *Financial History of Ohio*. Pp. 358. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1912.

Part I, 180 pages, is devoted to a discussion of the financial and economic history of Ohio, state receipts and expenditures from 1803 to date, and the budgetary practices and methods of financial administration. Part II, 175 pages, then discusses the history of the land tax, general property tax from 1825 to 1851 and under the constitution of 1851, the history and taxation of banks and banking, of railroads and business and miscellaneous taxes.

His conclusions he states throughout the volume. Thus he finds that the early period of state finance, ending in 1825, was accompanied by thrift and economy; that beginning with 1825, there was an increase in taxation and debt due to the state's comprehensive policy of internal improvements, most of the revenue for which was obtained by loans and miscellaneous receipts from the sale of land. The state's finances during this time, however, quite in contrast with Pennsylvania's history during the same period, were administered carefully and economically, and the early canals were built, on the whole, cheaply. But beginning with 1845 there occurred "a decade of legislative extravagance, of administrative dishonesty, and of private and corporate corruption, which happily is unique in the history of the state." The Civil War brought efficiency into the state's financial administration again, which continued until the revival of prosperity following the industrial depression of 1873. With the revival of prosperity, "the general assembly embarked again upon a career of improvidence if not extravagance." This extravagance, it appears, continued until about 1895 when the state began to place its finances on a firm and stable basis. Now they suffer only from the "hand-to-mouth policy of an elective legislature and executive, chosen for short terms and anxious to be returned to office." The whole study is inclusive and scholarly.

BOWSFIELD, C. C. *Making the Farm Pay*. Pp. 300. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: Forbes and Company, 1913.

A sufficiently, not to say questionably, hopeful account of the possibilities of profit from farming by the better methods now becoming more common, as diversified and more intensive cultivation, green manuring, silos, increased live-stock raising, farm accounting, etc.

BRAWLEY, B. G. *A Short History of the American Negro*. Pp. xvi, 247. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

It is significant that an increasing number of Negroes are interested in their own historic backgrounds. To such this volume will be welcome. It presents little new material but it tells the story accurately and interestingly. The relation to the whites, education, religion, and achievement in all good things are treated. It would be well if all Negroes should read and ponder the last chapter "Negro Achievement in Literature, Art and Invention." It might create hope should whites likewise reflect on this record.

BROOKS, JOHN GRAHAM. *American Syndicalism*. Pp. 264. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

For years John Graham Brooks has been one of the recognized authorities on the American social unrest. His contribution to the problem of syndicalism, the latest and by far the most spectacular form of that unrest, is not only timely, but carries with it a weight of mature authority. Mr. Brooks is radical in the ordinary sense of the term; yet when he deals with a movement like the Industrial Workers of the World, his attitude smacks of conservatism. He sees the need for change and recognizes the importance of action, but counsels strongly against ill-advised, impulsive movements. He counsels reason.

BROWN, SAMUEL W. *Secularization of American Education*. Pp. 160. Price, \$1.50. New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1912.

BUSSELL, F. W. *A New Government for the British Empire*. Pp. xii, 108. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

COLBY, F. M. *The New International Year Book for the Year 1912*. Pp. 882. Price, \$5.00. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1913.

Common School and the Negro American, The. Pp. 140. Price, 75 cents. Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press.

Anyone who wishes to know about present educational opportunities for Negroes will find this study very helpful. It gives in concise form information with reference to conditions in the various states.

DEVEREAUX, ROY. *Aspects of Algeria*. Pp. xi, 315. Price, \$3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1912.

One-third of the volume is taken up with descriptions of a traveler's first impression of the country and a sketch of its varied history. The rest of the volume discusses the French occupation and its results. Though the style is sketchy this latter portion is interesting and instructive. The results of the detailed statistical studies of the colonial office are presented in summary and a good description is given of the progress made in encouraging immigration, promoting irrigation and establishing security for property.

Though the material accomplishments of the republic receive unqualified praise the author like most English writers sees much to criticise in the manner in which the improvements are accomplished. Least to be defended is the horde of prefects, subprefects and officers of various other grades which the republic has introduced to preserve uniformity of organization. Everything is planned too much on the model of Paris. The policy of granting subventions for the development of southern Algeria the author regards as unfortunate, though a similar long continued policy of "grants in aid" to islands in the West Indies shows that English practice at least until recently, bore no strong contrast to that of France. The author believes that the arrangement by which Great Britain in 1904 gave France a free hand in West Africa in return for the surrender of unimportant fishing privileges in Newfoundland and a free hand in Egypt

was a bad blunder on the part of the English foreign office. A brief chapter on Tunis shows its relation to Algeria and the importance of Italian immigration. Though Morocco, Algiers and Tunis are destined to be under the political protection of the tricolor, the economic possession of the land, it is asserted will fall to men of Spanish and Italian blood. The volume contains an excellent map of Algiers and Tunis.

DUTTON, SAMUEL T. and SNEDDEN D. *The Administration of Public Education in the United States*. Pp. x, 614. Price, \$2.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

GODDARD, HENRY H. *The Kallikak Family*. Pp. xv, 121. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

GOULD, C. P. *The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765*. Pp. vii, 101. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1913.

GRIFFITH, W. L. *The Dominion of Canada*. Pp. x, 450. Price, \$3.00. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1912.

Mr. Griffith divides his book into a large number of short chapters each of which contains a concise essay on some phase of Canadian development or life. The first portion which traces the history of Canada and the relations with the mother country shows a touch of the feeling of rivalry if not of resentment toward the United States which still influences many Canadians. The latter three-fourths of the book however, abound with praise for those who make up the American Invasion, which has done so much to transform Canada's agriculture, industry and social and political conditions. Like all other larger British colonies the great development of the Dominion still lies in the future. For this reason the chapters discussing agricultural lands, fishing, mining and forest resources are especially interesting. No one of the majority of Americans who still look upon Canada as a land whose possibilities are narrowly restricted by a long severe winter can read these pages without an increased appreciation of our northern neighbor.

In this time when our own governments are undergoing so thorough an inspection by public opinion the chapters dealing with the organization of the public powers are no less interesting. The relations with England furnish the basis for a valuable comparison with the expedients adopted and to be adopted for the government of our own outlying possessions. The adaptation of the parliamentary system to the provinces, the peculiar division of powers between central and local governments, and the practice of "executive disallowance" all furnish instructive comparisons with our own institutions. Equally important and little known to citizens of the United States are the extensive governmental activities of Canada for popularizing the telegraph and telephone service, improving transportation, facilitating the settlement of labor disputes and promoting the establishment of minimum wage scales in the cities. Throughout the book the author has made an effort to present the latest governmental statistics to enforce his argument.

HAYNES, G. E. *The Negro at Work in New York City*. Pp. 158. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

HENDERSON, L. J. *The Fitness of the Environment*. Pp. 317. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

In recent years we have heard a great deal about the adaptation of living organisms to the physical environment. That this is really a reciprocal relationship so that it is quite as proper to speak of the fitness of the environment is rarely suggested. Yet this is the thesis of the author as indicated by the subtitle: "An Inquiry into the Biological Significance of the Properties of Matter." The result is a most intensely interesting and suggestive volume.

Fitness, the Environment, Water, Carbonic Acid, the Ocean, Chemistry of the Three Elements, the Argument, Life and the Cosmos are the chapter headings.

Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen are set forth as the three chief factors on which life depends—indeed with little question as the only elements making life possible. Their multitudinous forms and power of change are of vast significance. The general student will find some most stimulating ideas in the discussion of water.

The last two chapters are really devoted to a discussion of vitalism vs. mechanism. "There are no other compounds which share more than a small part of the fitness of water and carbonic acid; no other elements which share those of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen." The author believes that mechanism must win the day and that the supposed rôle of vitalism (despite Bergson) grows daily smaller.

This is a significant and striking study.

HIGGINSON, JOHN H. *Tariffs at Work*. Pp. xiv, 136. Price, 2/. London: P. S. King and Son, 1913.

This little book, in which the author has purposely refrained from making any reference to the economic and political aspects of the tariff problem, presents an outline of practical tariff administration, with especial reference to the United States and Canada. The tariff systems in operation in the different countries are briefly described, and the attempt is made, from a non-partisan viewpoint, to analyze their comparative advantages and disadvantages. The analysis, however, has hardly been sufficiently thorough to justify the conclusions drawn. For example, the conclusion is reached, in a short chapter on *ad valorem* and specific duties, in which only one page is devoted to a discussion of compound duties, and four pages to a discussion of specific duties, that the balance of advantage, from the standpoint of scientific tariff administration, lies on the side of specific duties.

HOLMES, ARTHUR. *The Conservation of a Child*. Pp. 345. Price, \$1.25. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912.

HOWERTH, IRA W. *Work and Life*. Pp. 278. Price, \$1.50. New York: Sturgis and Walton Company, 1913.

Among those who purpose to teach economic and social doctrines, none has a clearer view of the social element in the problem than Professor Howerth. Perhaps he may err by overstatement, but surely no one can accuse him of any illegitimate relations with the hidebound individualism of the nineteenth century. Professor Howerth sees the importance of wealth; he realizes the significance of competition in any well-organized scheme of life; but at the same time he recognizes the changes in the past few decades as pointing toward a new era, in which the social ideal will dominate individual caprice, and in which competition will have given place to well-directed coöperation. *Work and Life* strikes a harmonious note in the great world outline of social advance.

KOSER, R. *Friedrich der Grosse*. Pp. 533. Stuttgart: T. G. Cotta's Son.

MCVEY, FRANK L. *The Making of a Town*. Pp. 221. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1913.

In an easy, chatty style, the author has presented, amateurishly enough, the problems involved in town-climbing. The subjects ordinarily treated have been fully covered, yet one cannot but feel after laying down the book that it lacks bookishness and authority. For the beginner the book may prove useful; for the student of social science it carries no message.

MOLL, ALBERT. *The Sexual Life of the Child*. Pp. xv, 339. Price, \$1.75. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

MURDOCH, JOHN G. *Economics as the Basis of Living Ethics*. Pp. x, 373. Price, \$2.00. Troy: Allen Book and Printing Company, 1913.

The author, a former mental science fellow and now a professor of the English language, has attempted in this volume to cover the two fields of ethics and economics. Nor is he content with a narrow interpretation of the terms. The economic phases of history; the development of property theory; distribution theory; the ethics of Kant; economic determinism, and a minute analysis of the leading writers on political economy, make up the groundwork of his study. The author's basis in study has apparently been of the broadest, exceeded in breadth only by the extent of his ambition. Yet his statements, in so far as they concern economics, bespeak the letter, rather than the spirit of the things which he describes. Although he knows the text that he has conned, the wherefore lies in a realm beyond his ken. The book itself is loosely written, extremely general, and sometimes even careless in statement. His decision to place "the substance or a summary of the passages referred to in single quotation marks," is typical of this attitude. Lacking, as the author does, any intimate knowledge of the subjects with which he deals, and likewise of the art of bookmaking, the present volume fails completely either as a scientific or a readable statement of the relation which it purports to discuss.

MYERS, PHILIP V. *History as Past Ethics*. Pp. xii, 287. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1913.

In the field of historical literature the name of the author of this volume is a synonym for accuracy and sound scholarship. His vividness of style, clearness of description, and sense of perspective have earned for his work an international reputation. After thirty years of general historical writing he has entered a specific field and produced a volume which lacks none of the charm of his previous writings. The history of past ethics is a narrative and not an interpretation. It is no effort to invade the field of the philosophy of ethics, but a serious effort to view the subject historically and thereby supply the material for inductive studies. It seeks to supplement rather than to supplant such writings as those of Westermarck and Hobhouse. This accounts for the apparent lack of causes assigned for varied and changing moral ideas, codes and standards among the different races of mankind and among the same races at different epochs. The book is not without practical aim as regards either the service history may render to theoretical science or to practical social service. It is difficult to determine at one reading whether teachers of history or of ethics will find the book of greatest service. It will undoubtedly be suggestive and stimulating to both.

ORRIS, W. G. *The National Health Insurance Act*. Pp. 20. Price, 6d. London: P. S. King and Son, 1913.

PARSONS, ELSIE C. *The Old-Fashioned Woman—Primitive Fancies about the Sex*. Pp. viii, 373. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

Mrs. Parsons gives us in her *Old-Fashioned Woman* an interesting and valuable enumeration of the primitive ideas attached to woman in the various stages of civilization. Beginning with the creation of woman, she goes on to babyhood, the girl as a débutante, engaged, on her honeymoon, unwed, and about to become that fearsome phenomenon so long called the "old maid," married and a mother, widowed, and divorced. She characterizes her work and play, her dress, her value, and other ear marks as she humorously calls them, her value to the other sex and her sphere and place in the hierarchies. At each of these various phases she draws attention to the prevailing superstitions governing the conduct and actions of woman.

The primitive custom of the savage and the foolish superstition of our day are shown alike in their true color and perspective. We see woman as she has been for centuries, a creature so custom-bound that it has been almost impossible, until recently, for her to express her real self.

The book is carefully and sanely written, with exhaustive reference, index and table, giving location of primitive peoples. It is well worth a thorough perusal.

PEABODY, R. E. *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*. Pp. 168. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1912.

Mr. Peabody gives a pleasing account of the commercial ventures of the Derby's, the family of Salem merchants, who, during the eighteenth century, built up an extensive foreign trade with Europe and the Indies. The good

description of the peculiar organization of the foreign trade of the period makes the work highly instructive; and the delightful flavor of romance contained in the story of the adventurous life of the enterprising New England skippers keeps the interest of the reader constantly aroused.

PENSON, T. H. *The Economics of Everyday Life*. Pp. xiii, 176. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

This book is strictly elementary in character. It would hardly prove acceptable as a text-book, as it contains no treatment of such important topics, as banking, international trade, taxation, labor problems, or railways. It might, however, be of interest to teachers of the fundamental principles of economics, and may possibly be found useful to business men, who have only a limited opportunity to take up the study of economics. But even for this class of readers, it is, as indicated in the preface, to be regarded merely as a stepping stone to more advanced study.

PIGOU, A. C. *Wealth and Welfare*. Pp. xxxi, 488. Price, \$3.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

RAY, P. ORMAN. *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*. Pp. xiii, 493. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

The contents of this volume are divided into four parts: Present-Day National Parties; Nominating Methods; Campaigns and Elections, and The Party in Power. The volume is most inclusive in its contents, covering practically every phase of the organization and methods of political parties, and also such questions as civil service, recall, legislative procedure, gerrymandering, log-rolling, legislative reference libraries, initiative and referendum, presidential preference primaries, publicity laws, remedial legislation as to party receipts and expenditures, "grandfather" clauses, speakership and committee system, direct elections, the short ballot, and national, state and local committees. Party machinery and campaign methods, however, are given but a short chapter each. This under-emphasis is probably the only criticism that can be made of the book from the point of view of a complete text-book.

Each of the chapters covers the usual material well and pointedly, though there is no distinctive contribution in any part of the volume. It does bring together, however, all the material on the subject and will make an ideal text-book for introductory classes in political parties and party methods.

ROBBINS, E. C. *Selected Articles on the Commission Plan of Municipal Government*. (3d and enlarged edition.) Pp. xxix, 180. Price, \$1.00. Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Company, 1912.

This handbook contains the arguments for and against commission government, a detailed bibliography and extended excerpts from the literature on both sides of the question. The excerpts include the general discussion of the subject from L. S. Rowe's *Problems in City Government* and William Bennett Munro's "Galveston Plan of City Government," in the *National Municipal Review*, 1907.

The affirmative discussion includes articles by E. R. Sherman, E. R. Cheesborough, E. S. Bradford and liberal excerpts from Des Moines papers. The negative discussion includes excerpts from the works of Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick, Prof. F. I. Herriott, C. O. Holly, W. W. Wise, and liberal excerpts from *Plain Talk* of Des Moines.

SABY, R. S. *Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875*. Pp. 188. St. Paul: The Volkszeitung Company, 1912.

This work on railroad legislation in Minnesota, which was submitted as a Doctor's thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, contains a full account of early railroad regulation in Minnesota, of early land grants and other public aid to railroads in Minnesota, and of the granger legislation and movement of the seventies. The discussion of the granger movement, which is especially complete, is not confined to Minnesota, but is a study of the entire movement. It contains an interesting statement of the motives of the grangers, the legislation enacted, and its results.

THOMPSON, C. W. and WARBER, G. P. *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota*. Pp. v, 75. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1913.

UNDERWOOD, F. M. *United Italy*. Pp. xiv, 360. Price, \$3.50. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1912.

Though this book is interestingly written and presents material not elsewhere easily obtainable in English, it does not satisfy one who asks for an account of the foundations of Italian life. Perhaps it is to be expected that writers on Latin peoples should reflect the most prominent surface characteristics of the nations which they describe but it is unfortunate that outsiders at least cannot oftener see the relative unimportance of political changes and the great meaning of economic and social movements and the laws which aim to direct them. Ten of the author's fifteen chapters are devoted to a description of party changes, foreign policy, the royal family and the relations of church and state. Three others discuss the progress in science and the fine arts. Only two, an excellent chapter on south Italy and a summary called Italian Progress, treat the general social and economic conditions of the kingdom. There is no adequate treatment of the growth of Italian industries, the problem of land holding, education, sanitation, and the organization of peasant or middle class life. There is a fair description of the work of Crispi, especially of his financial operations. The terrorism of the Mafia in Sicily and of the Camorra in southern Italy is well discussed. The excellent contrasts drawn in the chapter showing the differences between Italy of a generation ago and of the present time make one wish that this portion on commerce, industry, agriculture and population had been given the prominence it deserves.

USHER, ROLAND G. *Pan Germanism*. Pp. viii, 314. Price, \$1.75. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1913.

Around the projects of pan Germanism the author groups a highly interesting discussion of the present alliances of the great powers. The marshalling

of facts is skillfully done, done with such facility in fact that the careful reader constantly makes reservations as to the accuracy of conclusions drawn. Indeed a large part of the argument can not fail to be unauthoritative since no one has access to sources of information which would allow the categorical statement of the motives impelling the various powers. This must of necessity be the case nor does the author claim to make a definite analysis of the movements he describes. Accepting these limitations, however, the student of international affairs will find this a book of absorbing interest. The author is peculiarly fortunate in placing himself successfully in the position of one arguing the case of each power whose ambitions and motives he has under discussion. He portrays the unfortunate position of Germany, a country which entered the race too late to secure either colonies of exploitation or settlement, but which has a population and trade rapidly expanding for which she seeks an outlet. England, France, Russia and the United States, the great colonial powers, find themselves forced into alliance against Germany with her allies Austria and Italy. The control of the world, especially of the east, is the prize in the competition. Recent developments in Morocco, Tripoli, Persia and Central America are only incidents in the same world wide play for universal dominion. The Moroccan incident was a defeat for pan Germanism, the Tripolitan war tipped the scale in the other direction but the Balkan struggle again turns the balance to the disadvantage of the Triple Alliance. The money power is the controlling factor in determining peace and war and therefore in determining the success of pan German ambitions. On the whole the outlook for realization of German ambitions is gloomy. The sweep of the comparisons and the acuteness with which the complicated elements of present day world politics are analyzed make this a book in which no one can fail to be interested even though the basis of the argument is and must be largely conjecture.

VICE COMMISSION OF PHILADELPHIA, THE. *A Report on Existing Conditions with Recommendations to the Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia.* Pp. viii, 164. Philadelphia: The Vice Commission, 1913.

WALTER, H. E. *Genetics: An Introduction to the Study of Heredity.* Pp. xiv, 272. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

This is to be rated as one of the very best books in this field. It contains little rambling discussion but gives in a clean-cut and concise way evidence thus far gathered and a statement of different theories. It is not too technical for one unversed in biology though such a person will not read it rapidly.

The chapter headings will indicate the contents: The Carriers of the Heritage, Variation, Mutation, The Inheritance of Acquired Characters, The Pure Line, Segregation and Dominance, Reversion to Old Types and the Making of New Ones, Blending Inheritance, The Determination of Sex, The Application to Man, and Human Conservation.

The volume contains many excellent diagrams and illustrations. In view of the steadily increasing interest in these problems such a summary of the work of the leading students is most welcome.

WEATHERFORD, W. D. *Negro Life in the South*. Pp. 181; *Present Forces in Negro Progress*. Pp. 191. Price, 50 cents each. New York: Association Press, 1912.

These two hand-books were published by the author in response to a demand for definite, concrete and usable information concerning the Negro in the South, for use in Y. M. C. A. classes studying social problems. The author has gathered with considerable care statistical and other information concerning the Negro's progress and general conditions throughout the South. As the titles indicate, the first is a study of the economic, social and religious conditions of the Negroes, and contains not only the description, but the explanation and interpretation of such conditions with suggested remedies for their improvement.

The second volume is a description of the changes taking place in population, the development of race pride and leadership, together with the story of the Negro's progress in farming and in industry, and the general development of educational and religious life. It would be difficult to find an equal amount of information without the survey of an extended literature.

The books are not only well adapted to their purpose but supply admirably the demand for facts and general information.

WEBB, WALTER L. *The Economics of Railroad Construction*. (2d Ed.) Pp. viii, 347. Price, \$2.50. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1912.

Because of changes made by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the classification of operating expenses since the publication of the first edition of his work, Professor Webb has found it advisable to offer a second edition, in which his computations will conform to the new classification. With the revision necessitated by the changes in accounting, the use of statistics collected since the former edition appeared, and numerous other modifications introduced for the purpose of making comparisons or explaining the significance of late changes in recent railroad conditions in the United States, the author has given us practically an entirely new work. The plan of the book is the same as that used in the first edition. From a skillful presentation of the financial and legal, the operating, and the physical aspects of the problem of railway building and operation, certain conclusions are derived which form the basis of general principles for the guidance of constructing and operating engineers.

REVIEWS

BEARD, CHARLES A. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. Pp. vii, 330. Price, \$2.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

The author modestly calls this work "a long and arid survey—partaking of the nature of a catalogue." Far from being arid, it is replete with human interest and compact with information of importance to every student of American history or of political science.

Professor Beard discusses, through the medium of the great mass of original data in the treasury department at Washington, the economic interests of the framers of the Constitution; the economic and industrial movements back of the Constitution; the property safeguards in the election of delegates; the economic interests and the political doctrines of the members of the convention; the economics of the ratification and vote on the Constitution; the economic conflict over the ratification, as viewed by contemporaries. It is impossible here to make a critical analysis of the data submitted. It must suffice to say that, while admittedly fragmentary, it is yet as complete as could be expected in a single volume.

Some of the most important conclusions reached are: "The movement for the Constitution of the United States was originated and carried through principally by four groups of personal interests which had been adversely affected under the Articles of Confederation: money, public securities, manufactures, and trade and shipping. The steps toward the formation of the Constitution were taken by a small and active group of men immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors." The propertyless masses were excluded at the outset from participation in the work of framing the Constitution, and the members of the convention were, "with a few exceptions, immediately, directly, and personally interested in, and derived economic advantages from, the establishment of the new system."

"The Constitution was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities."

"In the ratification of the Constitution, about three-fourths of the adult males failed to vote on the question, having abstained from the elections at which delegates to the state conventions were chosen, either on account of their indifference or their disfranchisement by property qualifications."

"The Constitution was ratified by a vote of probably not more than one-sixth of the adult males."

CLYDE L. KING.

University of Pennsylvania.

HUBBARD, ARTHUR J. *The Fate of the Empires* Pp. xx, 220. Price \$2.10. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1913.

The author, in this volume, has in Part I attempted a rational analysis of the factors of progressive organic existence from the simplest life of the Protozoal organism to the ultimate achievements possible to man in society.

Four stages are analyzed. Beginning with reflex action, the power of involuntary response to external stimulus which facilitates individual survival, he passes speedily to the second stage, that of reflex action plus instinct. Instinct is defined as inherited inborn impulses, which are essential to racial survival. "Instinct is purely an appurtenance of race, acts in the interests of race, is inherited by every generation, and again transmitted, securing the subordination of the individual to the race. This gives rise to struggle, Malthusianism, natural selection. The third stage of that of reflex action plus instinct, plus

reason. Pure reason is self-interested rationalism of the extreme sort. "Pure reason, the enemy of the race, knows only the interest of the individual, or rather of society." Reason overthrows instinct, eliminates competition and struggle, reduces the birth rate even to the point of racial extinction for the advantage of the individual and present society. This is the present danger confronting society.

The fate of empires, that is, of modern civilization, depends upon a reconciliation of instinct and reason in a fourth stage, viz: reflex action, plus instinct, plus reason, plus the religious motive. The religious motive is "the conscious relation to the infinite." It transforms personal advantage into duty, and provides an ultrarational sanction for human conduct.

Part II is devoted to an analysis of the part religion has played in the history of great nations.

The strength of the book lies in the analysis of Part I; its weakness, in the peculiar conception of religion, which makes its obediences to an external authority rather than the "faith in the possibilities of life" as illustrated in the following: "A permanent civilization may indeed come, but can only do so as an accident of self sacrifice that is offered upon the altars of the Most High." A more optimistic outlook would have resulted had the author adhered more closely to the concept of religion presented by Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*, without which the author declares his book could not have been written.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER.

University of Pennsylvania.

KNOOP, DOUGLAS. *Principles and Methods of Municipal Trading*. Pp. xvii, 409. Price, \$3.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1912.

This is a critical analysis of the scope and development of the administrative, financial and selling policies, and the results of municipal trading in English cities. It is at all times analytical and critical. It contains criticisms that would be, no doubt, of great value to every trading community that has the problems of operation and ownership on its hands. A typical example of the author's point of view is in the following statement (p. 370): "To carry work people at certain hours of the day at cost price or even less than cost price, in a town which is composed almost entirely of working-class people, is a suicidal policy to adopt." Such is probably "suicidal" from the point of view of maximum returns, but much could be said in favor of subsidizing workmen through good transit facilities and proper homes in lieu of subsidizing the capitalist through a protective tariff. Not enough has as yet been made of the way England is keeping her manufactories and working people at home through the socialization of her tramway, gas, electric, water and other services. Minimum rates and maximum privileges in such utilities give to a workman facilities in social life that could never be secured in many American towns where the capitalist is protected by a tariff and where the public utility concerns are allowed to exploit the community and social needs of the city.

The author points out many places where municipal trading is weak, and where it could be improved. Thus he feels that better depreciation funds should be kept and that certain items frequently left out of the revenue accounts of trading departments should be included. Among these items he particularly discusses the cost of widening streets in connection with tramways, the cost of obtaining the original power to establish the trading department and a proper share of the general expense. In the way of minimizing the drawbacks in municipal trading, he suggests the following:

1. That the appointment of all employees be left entirely in the hands of the principal officials of the different departments, and that a recommendation from a councillor disqualify any applicant.

2. That the chairman of Councils Committee be given a salary in order to make it worth his while to give more time to the concern and in order to prevent overwork of councilmen.

3. The payment of good salaries to the higher officials, especially by the trading concerns of the smaller localities, as it usually takes more ability to make a small trading concern pay than a large one.

His general conclusion as to municipal ownership and operation is: "Taking all the attendant circumstances and conditions into consideration, municipal trading in itself cannot be regarded as a desirable institution; the management of industrial undertakings is not really a suitable sphere of activity for a local authority. Nevertheless, in certain cases, it may offer a reasonable prospect of serving the general public better than private enterprise, and in consequence the municipalization of particular industries may be justified. These industries are such as have a strong tendency to become monopolies, which is generally true of tramways and of water, gas and electricity supply undertakings."

CLYDE L. KING.

University of Pennsylvania.

LAWTON, LANCELOT. *The Empires of the Far East*. 2 vols. Pp. xvii, 1598, with folding map. Price, \$7.50. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1912.

These two large volumes written in the style of a commentator on current events contain much that is already familiar to those interested in the East. The reader cannot help feeling that the strength of the work would have been much greater if so much space had not been given to quotations and material drawn from McKenzie, P. B. L. Weale and Hulbert. Frequent repetitions of arguments, for which the author apologizes also tend to mar the symmetry of the descriptions. It is to be regretted that the statistics seldom cover a period later than 1907. Aside from these defects Mr. Lawton's work deserves high praise. He has traveled widely in the East, has an unusually intimate connection with certain episodes of the Russo-Japanese war and gives us first hand estimates of the consequences of that conflict after the passing of a decade.

The greater part of the work centers about the progress and prospects of the Japanese. Mr. Lawton thinks their performance in the war has been

exaggerated, that they are by no means a nation of real stoics and that the advantage to Great Britain of the alliance with Japan may prove illusory. The steady onward march of Russia into Mongolia is described in a way which gives a good background for the developments in that region since the publication of the book. Russian ambition in the northeast provinces seems likely to be disappointed though the riches of the fisheries, forests and mines of the Amur are as yet unappreciated by the outside world. Russia's long laid plans in double tracking the Trans-Siberian foretell a conflict in the future even more terrible than the Russo-Japanese war. Even if Manchuria and Korea finally fall to Japan, the author evidently believes that it is still not impossible that Russia may secure an outlet to a "warm water port" on the Chinese coast.

The chapters on Japan proper contain a review of the empire's development and a criticism of its social system, financial operations and business morality. The division headed Manchuria contains as would be expected the best chapters on the present status of the international rivalry in the Far East. The discussion of the various railway projects is exceptionally valuable. The latter portion of the second volume contains a good account of the Chinese revolution.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

MOORE, J. R. H. *An Industrial History of the American People.* Pp. xiii, 496. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

In the preface the author states that the aim of this book is to teach high school students to "weigh and consider"—to give them the training necessary for useful citizenship. It will consequently be fairest to judge the volume upon this basis rather than history, for history in the ordinary sense, political or industrial, it can scarcely be called. The book falls into two parts, of which the first with eight chapters deals with the colonial period, and the second with five chapters covers the nineteenth century. Each chapter takes up a single topic and develops it for the colonial or later period. Among these topics are fisheries, lumber, fur trade, agriculture, money, government, city problems, manufacturing, and transportation. As the treatment is very discursive, however, no chapter is confined to the topic that gives it its title; for instance, in the chapter on agriculture the following topics are discussed: slave labor and cotton growing, agriculture in the north, river and canal transportation, Civil War, railroads, tariff, Hawaiian islands, department of agriculture, public lands, Canada. Agriculture is simply the starting point for a concatenation of events that reminds one of Professor Loiset's celebrated memory system.

The book is interesting, with much of incident and anecdote, and written for the high school student; but it is questionable whether its study would leave the student with any clearly defined views as to the comparative importance of events in American history or their casual relations. Moreover the gaps left by a such a topical method are too large to be bridged by class discussion.

E. L. BOGART.

University of Illinois.

MYERS, GUSTAVUS. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*. Pp. 823. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1912.

Mr. Gustavus Myers, author of *History of the Great American Fortunes*, *History of Public Franchises in New York City*, etc., has here, in a spacious volume, given the history of the supreme court of the United States as he sees it. He presents a comprehensive history of the development of capitalist resources, power and tactics, and of the great and continuing conflict of classes, in order to show the influences so persistently operating upon the minds and acts of the justices of the supreme court throughout its entire history. These influences are not venal but class influences, and were all the more effective for the very reason that the justices in question were not open to pecuniary dishonest practices. From training, association, interest and prejudice, submerged in a permeating class environment, a fixed state of mind results. Upon conditions that the ruling class finds profitable to its aims, and advantageous to its power, are built codes of morality as well as of law. These codes are the reflections and agencies of class interests.

The students in traditional history will find in the volume much material that will be new to them as well as much in method to criticize. Thus the author concludes that Jay resigned the chief justiceship of the United States supreme court solely in order that, by making a treaty with England, he might enhance his own financial interests and the pecuniary interests of his associates. All of this might be true, but at the best motives cannot be shown by implications.

A characteristic statement showing the phraseology and point of view of the author is: "Both Burr and Hamilton were engaged in extensive land grabbing. Hamilton in many different directions." He proves from many records that Burr and Hamilton were extensive land owners. Those who have always found it difficult to reconcile Hamilton the young radical, at the time of the beginning of the American Revolution, with Hamilton the reactionary, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution and following, can find ample explanation in the author's treatment of Hamilton's family alignments and his many financial interests. The author, always socialistic in his point of view, completes his seven hundred and eighty-six pages with the prophecy: "The next application of the 'rule of reason' will be made by the organized working class in its own interests to the end that it will expropriate its expropriators."

CLYDE L. KING.

University of Pennsylvania.

WALLACE, ALFRED R. *Social Environment and Moral Progress*. Pp. vi, 181. Price, \$1.25. New York: Cassell and Company, 1913.

This is a thought provoking little volume, which is likely to start many discussions. Dr. Wallace challenges the prevalent belief that there has been great advance in the realm of morality as a result of civilization. He points out many of the bad conditions at the present time, and seems to believe that through alcoholism, suicide, war, etc., we are falling far short of the ideals of our civilization. This represents the first part of the book.

The second part is theoretical, beginning with a discussion of natural selection among animals, proceeding to the influence of the mind as modifying selection, a survey of heredity and environment, with a survey of possible methods of improvement in the chapter entitled *Progress Through Selection*. In this he points out great dangers involved in any eugenics movement that would interfere with comparative freedom in the selecting of mates. He is much more favorably inclined towards what has been called negative eugenics—the elimination of the obviously unfit. Dr. Wallace has frequently been quoted as being pessimistic. This does not appear to be fair. He does not think that human nature is perfect but that "it is influenced by fundamental laws which under reasonably just and economic conditions will automatically abolish all these evils." He believes that a better educational system would in itself raise the average age of marriage; that educational and economic equality of the sexes would more nearly equalize their numbers, and that increase of brain work would automatically diminish fertility. Thus the whole social structure would be in better condition. Society, then, has created its own evil conditions, largely by over-emphasis in competition. "That system must therefore be radically changed into one of brotherly coöperation and coördination for the equal good of all."

The book deserves careful reading.

CARL KELSEY.

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WHITE, ANDREW D. *The First Hague Conference*. Pp. vi, 123. Boston: The World Peace Foundation, 1912.

CHOATE, JOSEPH H. *The Two Hague Conferences*. Pp. xiv, 109. Price, \$1.00. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1913.

HULL, WILLIAM I. *The New Peace Movement*. Pp. ix, 216. Boston: The World Peace Foundation, 1912.

Those interested in the peace movement will welcome the reprint from Dr. White's interesting autobiography of those chapters dealing with his epochal work at the first Hague conference. These chapters form such a frank and intimate record of Dr. White's experience at the Hague in 1899 that they furnish a very valuable source of our knowledge of the inside workings of the conference, more particularly of the part played by Germany and the United States. However, they are so well known to students of the subject that an extended review of them is scarcely necessary.

The two lectures on the first and second Hague conferences which form the subject matter of Ambassador Choate's little volume entitled *The Two Hague Conferences*, have also considerable value, though they by no means compare in interest or importance with Dr. White's revelations. Their value is enhanced by Dr. Scott's introduction and the notes at the end of the volume.

A perusal of the sixteen addresses and essays by Dr. Hull published under the title *The New Peace Movement*, leaves various and somewhat conflicting impressions.

The reviewer is a peace advocate and a strong admirer of the work of the Hague conferences, but he seriously doubts the wisdom of indiscriminate and exaggerated praise of their achievements. It may be that the "Hague conferences are to international law what the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to human industry," but why claim for these conferences the solution of problems and the accomplishment of results which they have not even seriously undertaken?

It is at least questionable whether the Hague conferences have "canalized warfare" or very stringently "cribbed, cabined, and confined the belligerent," or whether the "advance registered" by them "in curbing those modern demons of the sea"—otherwise known as submarine mines—has been very appreciable. The Hague conventions dealing with the "knotty problems of the rights of neutrals on land and sea" are very defective and inadequate, and aerial warfare has in no wise been prohibited even until the end of the next conference, as claimed on pp. 14 and 37. In a word, it must be said that the address treating of "The Achievements of the two Hague Conferences" is very uncritical.

Dr. Hull's addresses are those entitled "The Abolition of Trial by Battle" and "The International Grand Jury." These constitute a valuable contribution to the literature of the peace movement. In a brief essay on "International Police vs. National Armaments," he exposes the "false and pernicious analogy implying that armaments are equivalent to police forces." Much useful information may be found in the essays on "The Instrumentalities" and "Literature of the Peace Movement."

The work contains some good phrases and characterizations. For example, Dr. Hull calls Theodore Roosevelt the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of the Peace Movement" and speaks of the "barracks philosophy of peace." If "two great Americans, Elihu Root and Joseph H. Choate, were the Moses and Aaron who led the second conference into the path toward the promised land," Philander Chase Knox has probably disappointed the hope of the author that he would prove to be the "Joshua" capable of leading us across the Jordan.

On the whole, Dr. Hull's little book is both a source of gratification and disappointment. The addresses are very uneven, though it must be said that even the disappointing features of the work are not wholly devoid of interest.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

Indiana University.

WILSON, WOODROW. *The New Freedom*. Pp. viii, 294. Price, \$1.00. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913.

This is a book which would be worth reading even if it were not the work of the President of the United States. Mr. William Bayard Hale has taken the more suggestive portions of President Wilson's campaign speeches, many of them extemporaneous, and put them together so well that they make a consecutive book. The title suggests well enough the central theme. The speeches themselves were read day by day as the papers reported them, and so it would be waste of time to undertake a summary of contents; in a brief note. Some general comments, and mention of a few details must suffice.

One is tempted to institute comparison with Mr. Wilson's earlier works, and to judge the book as a scientific contribution. Obviously the comparison is unfair. It is as a collection of campaign speeches that the book must be judged. Such overstatements as this (p. 35): "Laws have never altered the facts; laws have always necessarily expressed the facts," would be subject to criticism in a treatise; in an extemporaneous speech they are to be taken as merely an emphatic statement of a principle which a popular audience would see most clearly if it were not too carefully qualified. It is surprising, however, how few illustrations of this sort one finds, surprising how accurately the scholar has spoken in the easy phrase of the campaigner. As compared with other records of campaign speeches, the book must take high rank.

Some of Mr. Wilson's speeches were criticized in the campaign because inaccurately reported, and the volume is welcome for its corrections of these points. Thus, Mr. Wilson was criticized for having said that the best government is that which does the least governing. Reference to pp. 283-284 shows that he said it only for the purpose of qualifying it in the manner which the student of his scientific writings would expect.

The following passage expresses the spirit of the book better than anything else: "I feel nothing so much as the intensity of the common man. I can pick out in any audience the men who are at ease in their fortunes: they are seeing a public man go through his stunts. But there are in every crowd men who are not doing that—men who are listening as if they were waiting to hear if there were somebody who could speak the thing that is stirring in their own hearts and minds. It makes a man's heart ache to think that he cannot be sure that he is doing it for them" (p. 104). But the appeal is not alone to the moral nature of the common man. Mr. Wilson believes that the captain of industry is not impervious to the moral awakening of the country, exhorts him as well as warns him, and points humorously to the change that took place in the big corporations of New Jersey during his administration—"it was like a Sunday school, the way they obeyed the laws."

In the main, the book deals with general principles. Ends to be sought are made clear; ways and means, as a rule, are made less definite. But the reason is clear. Mr. Wilson was in a happy position in the campaign. His election was as sure as anything human could well be. By leaving his program somewhat indefinite, he gave himself additional time for consultation and reflection, and for the wisdom that comes with the further developments in the facts that he has to deal with. Few Presidents indeed have entered the office with so small a load of *impedimenta* not merely of political promises, but also of detailed policies. While this may have detracted from the interest of the speeches in some measure, there can be little question as to the wisdom of the course. But there are many more definite statements than the newspaper reports led one to think.

B. M. ANDERSON, JR.

Columbia University.

Wise, B. R. *The Commonwealth of Australia*. Pp. xv, 355. Price, \$3.00.
Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

One naturally expects an author who writes on Australia to emphasize the part which the government plays in the life of the people, and Mr. Wise does so. The first third of the book contains three chapters on the physical characteristics of the country and six on the lands, education and labor policy of the "paradise of the working man." There are many indications in this portion of the work that the author is not free from the enthusiasm of those who live in new countries. It is rather startling to read of the great Pacific continent that "no area of equal dimensions contains so much wealth or in greater variety," and that it "dominates the Pacific" and is "placed astride of the trade route between America and China . . . is not only the outlying frontier of England . . . but is also the ultimate heir of Java." But except where overcolored by patriotism these chapters are interesting and instructive.

Much the better portion of the book is found in its latter two-thirds, though here too the reader has occasion to feel that a more critical attitude would have added to its value. The chapters on the struggle for Union are excellent. There is nowhere presented in semipopular form a more readable account of the efforts by which the provincial prejudices at first blocked union and later yielded to its advantages. The discussion of the government and its workings is also well done, doubtless reflecting the author's legal training and his experience as attorney-general of New South Wales. The chapter on the Judiciary is especially interesting to Americans because of the adaptation of the organization of the supreme court of the United States.

In the field of legislation Australia has done much to arouse our interest. Mr. Wise reviews not only the laws but their workings. His treatment of tariff policies bears especially on the subject of imperialism. Other subjects covered are, the trust problem, immigration of colored races, anti-strike laws, eight hour day laws, legislation for early closing of factories, minimum wage laws, laws favoring labor unions and providing old age and invalidity pensions. Most readers will find these chapters the most interesting and valuable in the book.

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INDEX

- Agricultural and Mechanical College** of Greensboro, N. C., the, 142.
- Agriculture**, negroes in, 20, 54.
- Alabama**, movement of white and colored population in, 5.
- State Normal School, the, 212.
- American Association of Educators of Colored Youth**, the, 132.
- Federation of Labor, admission of negroes to, 114.
- Negro Academy, the, 134.
- Negro Historical Society, the, 134.
- Arkansas**, negro children in schools of, 52; negro farmers in, 55.
- Armstrong Association**, work of the, 90.
- BAKER, RAY STANNARD.** Problems of Citizenship, 93-104.
- Ballot**, attitude of the negro toward, 100.
- Baltimore**, negro population of, 24, 81; negro schools in, 222.
- Banks**, negro, in the United States, 158.
- Baptist church**, negro followers of, 61.
- Beaufort county**, negro population of, 59; negro school attendance in, 61.
- BETTERMENT OF THE NEGRO IN PHILADELPHIA, THE MOVEMENT FOR THE.** John T. Emlen, 81-92.
- BROUGH, CHARLES HILLMAN.** Work of the Commission of Southern Universities on the Race Question, 47-57.
- Budgets**, typical negro, 151, 157, 162.
- CALDWELL, B. C.** The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, 173-176.
- CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA, NEGRO.** Howard W. Odum, 186-208.
- CHRISTENSEN, NIELS.** Fifty Years of Freedom: Conditions in the Sea Coast Regions, 58-66.
- Church**, activities of the, for negro betterment, 71; as independent negro institution, 120; influence of, upon negroes, 50, 165; negro betterment, and the, 86; rise and importance of negro, 14; work of the negro, 25.
- CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.** J. J. Watson, Jr., 120-128.
- Churches**, in Beaufort County, 61.
- CITIES, CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN THE.** George Edmund Haynes, 105-119.
- CITIZENSHIP, PROBLEMS OF.** Ray Stannard Baker, 93-104.
- Citizenship**, status of negro in, 93.
- CLARKE, JAMES B.** The Negro and the Immigrant in the Two Americas, 32-37.
- Colored Graduate Nurses National Association**, the, 135.
- Commission on Southern Race Questions**, membership and purpose of, 47.
- Convict lease system**, attitude of National Association of Colored Women toward, 134; introduction of, in the South, 77.
- Cotton crop**, in Beaufort district, 62.
- Country Farm Association**, the, 136.
- Courts**, justice toward negro in the, 168.
- Crime**, negro, prior to Civil War, 74.
- Criminality**, decrease in negro, 75; factors of negro, in the South, 79.
- CRIMINALITY IN THE SOUTH, NEGRO.** Monroe N. Work, 74-80.

- DILLARD, JAMES H., 47, 170, 217.
 Doctor, importance of colored, 141;
 professional standing of the negro,
 16.
 Domestic service, negroes in, 20.
 DuBois, W. E. BURGHARDT. *The
 Negro in Literature and Art*, 233-
 237; *see also* 136.
- East North Central States, urban
 proportion of negroes in, 8.
 Education, amount expended on
 negro, in the South, 52; attitude of
 both races toward higher negro, 217;
 changed attitude toward negro, 226;
 factors facilitating negro, 209, 210;
 importance of negro, 186; necessity
 of negro, 166; need of free, 101; need
 of higher, 18; progress of negro, 117,
 222, 225; Slater fund and higher, 174;
 Southern institutions for higher,
 211; Southern system of public, 215.
 EDWARDS, THOMAS J. *The Tenant
 System and Some Changes Since
 Emancipation*, 38-46.
 EMLIN, JOHN T. *The Movement for
 the Betterment of the Negro in
 Philadelphia*, 81-92.
 Enfranchisement, attitude of South
 toward negro, 55.
- Florida Agricultural and Mechanical
 College, the, 212.
 Four-day plan of cropping, failure of,
 39.
 Freedman's Bureau, creation of, 209.
 FREEDOM, FIFTY YEARS OF. *CONDI-
 TIONS IN THE SEA COAST REGIONS*.
 Niels Christensen, 58-66.
- Georgia, negro criminals in, 74.
 — State Industrial College, the, 212.
- HAMMOND, L. H. *The White Man's
 Debt to the Negro*, 67-73.
 Hampton Normal School, the, 30, 176,
 215, 220.
- HAYNES, GEORGE EDMUND. *Condi-
 tions Among Negroes in the Cities*,
 105-119.
 High schools, negroes in, 191.
 HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES IN
 THE UNITED STATES. Edward T.
 Ware, 209-218.
 Hoffman, Frederick L., on negro death
 rate, 115.
 HOME LIFE AND STANDARDS OF LIV-
 ING, NEGRO. Robert E. Park, 147-
 163.
 Hookworm disease among negroes,
 54, 143.
 Housing, need for experiment station
 in negro, 73; the negro problem
 and, 53.
 Housing conditions, effect of, on ne-
 groes, 69; need for improvement of,
 72; results of poor, 111; tuberculosis
 and poor, 143.
- Illiteracy, among negro children, 183;
 among slaves, 177; decline of negro,
 22, 51, 183, 223; distribution of, in
 urban and rural population, 180;
 negro, in the North, 179; present
 problem of negro, 178; relative sta-
 tistics of, 179.
- ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES,
 NEGRO. J. P. Lichtenberger, 177-
 185.
 Immigrant, attitude of, toward the
 negro, 35.
 IMMIGRANT, THE NEGRO AND THE, IN
 THE TWO AMERICAS. James B.
 Clarke, 32-37.
 INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND THE PUB-
 LIC SCHOOLS. Booker T. Washing-
 ton, 219-232.
 Industrial education, necessity of
 negro, 55.
 Industrial schools, achievements of,
 228, 232.
 Infant mortality, education and, 143.
 Insurance companies, growth of negro
 beneficial, 137.

- JEANES AND SLATER FUNDS, THE WORK OF THE. B. C. Caldwell, 173-176.
- Jeanes fund, rural schools, and the, 225; work under the, 173.
- JONES, S. B. Fifty Years of Negro Public Health, 138-146.
- JONES, THOMAS JESSE. Negro Population in the United States, 1-9.
- Kentucky, decrease of negro population in, 6.
- Labor system, change in, upon plantations, 38.
- Labor unions, admission of negroes to, 36; attitude of, toward negroes, 155.
- Land, total value of negro farm, in Virginia, 29.
- Land owners, negroes as, 28, 58, 64, 153, 167.
- Latin America, racial attitude in, 33.
- Lawyer, future possibilities of the negro, 17.
- LEE, B. F. Negro Organizations, 129-137.
- Libraries, establishment of, for negroes, 225.
- LICHTENBERGER, J. P. Negro Illiteracy in the United States, 177-185.
- Literature, achievements of negroes in, 234, 235.
- LITERATURE AND ART, THE NEGRO IN. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 233-237.
- Louisville, establishment of negro libraries in, 225.
- Lynchings, attitude toward, in the South, 168; number of, 75.
- Maryland, decrease of negro population in, 6.
- Methodist church, negro followers of, 61.
- Middle Atlantic States, urban proportion of negroes in, 8.
- MILLER, KELLY. Professional and Skilled Occupations, 10-18.
- Miners, wages of negro, 157.
- Ministry, character of negro, 51; opportunities for negroes in the, 123.
- Mortality rate, among negroes, 53, 115.
- National Association for the Advancement of the Negro, the, 136.
- Association of Colored Women, the, 133.
- Business League, the, 134.
- Federation of Colored Men, first meeting of, 133.
- Negro children, at work, 26; average and normal age of, 189; comparison between, and white children, 190; effect of environment upon, 199, 205; intelligence of, 202; markings for, 192; progress of, in various subjects, 193; retardation among, 190, 195; school attendance of, 191.
- Negro National Educational Congress, the, 136.
- Negro problem, study of, by university students, 48, 70, 170.
- Negroes, advancement of, 11; artistic tendencies of, 233; as factor of Southern urban population, 8; as land owners, 28; as wealth producers, 168; attitude of labor unions toward, 155; changes in unskilled labor among, 21; classes of, before Civil War, 147; criminal records of, 59; decrease in illiteracy among, 22, 51; development of race consciousness among, 171; dying out of, in the United States, 138; economic opportunities for, 88; educational needs of, 72; forces retarding economic development of, 55; growth of middle class among, 148; home life among, 163; hospitality of, 160, 161; improvement in living conditions of, 152; improvement in personal appearance of, 65; in business, 159; in church administration, 124; in productive pursuits, 13; in

- professional service, 13; in skilled trades, 155; influence of church upon, 164; introduction of, 10; literary efforts of, 234; musical tendencies of, 233; need for vocational training of, 89; present attitude toward, 11; religious temperament of, 120; school distribution of, in Philadelphia, 187; segregation of, 12, 109; situation of, at close of Civil War, 219; status of, as citizens, 93; urban and rural distribution of, in the North, 8; urban migration of, 105; wages system among, 22.
- New England, negroes in urban communities of, 8.
- New Orleans, negro population of, 24, 81.
- New York, negro population in, 24, 81.
- North, negro illiteracy in, 179; negro population in, 3, 106; negro unskilled labor in, 24; urban and rural distribution of negroes in, 8.
- Occupations, field of, for negroes, 113, 147; negroes in five main classes of, 20; negroes in productive, 13; whites and negroes in gainful, 107.
- OCCUPATIONS, PROFESSIONAL AND SKILLED. Kelly Miller, 10-18.
- ODUM, HOWARD W. *Negro Children in the Public Schools of Philadelphia*, 186-208.
- Oliver, Superintendent, on rural schools, 229.
- Organization, efforts toward, among freedmen, 129.
- ORGANIZATIONS, NEGRO. B. F. Lee, 129-137.
- Organizations, negro, following Civil War, 131.
- PARK, ROBERT E. *Negro Home Life and Standards of Living*, 147-163.
- Part-standing-wage system, contract under, 39.
- Peabody, George, gift of, 210.
- Philadelphia, negro population in, 24, 81; negro unskilled labor in, 25.
- PHILADELPHIA, NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF. Howard W. Odum, 186-208.
- PHILADELPHIA, THE MOVEMENT FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE NEGRO IN. John T. Emlen, 81-92.
- Playgrounds, available to negroes in Philadelphia, 85.
- Population, distribution of negro, 4; increase of negro, 1, 2; negro, in leading cities, 9, 108; negro, in Southern cities, 106; proportion of negro to total, 3; segregation of negro, 109; state distribution of negro, 4, 6; urban and rural distribution of negro, 180; ward distribution of negro, in Philadelphia, 82, 83, 84.
- POPULATION, NEGRO, IN THE UNITED STATES. Thomas Jesse Jones, 1-9.
- Press convention, first meeting of colored, 132.
- Prison systems, changes in Southern, 77.
- Prisoners, number of negro, in North and South, 75.
- Professional service, negroes in, 13.
- Public health, agencies for promoting, 145.
- PUBLIC HEALTH, FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO. S. B. Jones, 138-146.
- RACE QUESTION, WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES ON THE. Charles Hillman Brough, 47-57.
- Race relationship, during reconstruction, 165.
- RACE RELATIONSHIP IN THE SOUTH. W. D. Weatherford, 164-172.
- Railroad construction, negro labor in, 36.
- Relief agencies open to negroes, 87.
- Renter, present negro, 44.

- Rural school, as factor in negro education, 53; Jeanes fund and the, 173; Superintendent Oliver on the, 229.
- Sanford, William H., on negro justice, 79.
- School system, institution of public, 220.
- Schools, amount expended on negro, 167, 224; as factor in uplift of negroes, 27; interest in progress of, 229; negro children in Philadelphia, 187; negro, in Arkansas, 52; success of, in negro teaching, 197; total expenditures for negro, 225, 226.
- Sea islands, negro life on, 149.
- Share-cropping system, the, 38, 40.
- Skilled trades, negroes in, 155.
- Slater fund, higher education and the, 174, 210; work under the, 174.
- Slaves, as unskilled laborers, 19; health of, 139.
- Social evil among negroes, 144.
- Social service among negroes, 169.
- South, attitude of races in, 164; attitude of, toward negro enfranchisement, 55; changes in prison systems of, 77; industrial standing of negroes in, 35; money expended on negro education in, 52; movement of negroes to cities of, 7; need of trained teachers in, 176; negro as factor in agricultural development of, 54; negro farms in, 68; negro illiteracy in the, 179; negro population in the, 3; negro unskilled labor in, 23; position of the negro in agriculture of, 36.
- SOUTH, NEGRO CRIMINALITY IN THE**
Monroe N. Work, 74-80.
- SOUTH, RACE RELATIONSHIP IN THE.**
W. D. Weatherford, 164-172.
- South Carolina, negro public schools in, 221.
- Southern Sociological Congress, work of the, 169.
- STANDARDS OF LIVING, NEGRO HOME LIFE AND.** Robert E. Park, 147-163.
- Suffrage, attitude toward negro, 97; educational and property qualifications for, 98; restricted, in United States, 95.
- Taxes paid by negroes in Virginia, 30.
- Teachers, functions of negro, 15.
- Tenant system and development of negro, 55.
- TENANT SYSTEM AND SOME CHANGES SINCE EMANCIPATION, THE.** Thos. J. Edwards, 38-46.
- Tennessee, decrease of negro population in, 6.
- Thomas, Judge W. H., on negro trials, 78.
- Tuberculosis, among negroes, 53, 139.
- Tuskegee Conference, first annual meeting of, 133.
- Tuskegee Institute, the, 176, 215, 221, 228.
- United States, negro farmers in, 55.
- Unskilled labor, changes, in, among negroes, 21.
- UNSKILLED LABOR, THE NEGRO IN.**
R. R. Wright, Jr., 19-27.
- Virginia, decrease of negro population in, 5; negro farmers in, 149.
- VIRGINIA, DEVELOPMENT IN THE TIDEWATER COUNTIES OF.** T. C. Walker, 28-31.
- Vocational training, need for negro, 89.
- Wages system among negroes, 22.
- WALKER, T. C.** Development in the Tidewater Counties of Virginia, 28-31.
- WARE, EDWARD T.** Higher Education of Negroes in the United States, 209-218.

- WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. Industrial Education and the Public Schools, 219-232; *see also* 132, 133, 134, 166, 234, 236.
- Washington, D. C., negro population of, 24, 81.
- WATSON, J. J., Jr. Churches and Religious Conditions, 120-128.
- WEATHERFORD, W. D. Race Relationship in the South, 163-172; *see also* 216.
- WHITE MAN'S DEBT TO THE NEGRO, THE. L. H. Hammond, 67-73.
- Wilberforce University, college department in, 209.
- Women, as negro unskilled workers, 25.
- WORK, MONROE N. Negro Criminality in the South, 74-80.
- WRIGHT, R. R., Jr. The Negro in Unskilled Labor, 19-27.
- Young Men's Christian Association, first colored, 131; work of, for negro betterment, 170.

